ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

SEVENTEENTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS

OF

EL AMARNA

PART V. SMALLER TOMBS AND BOUNDARY STELAE

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES

FORTY-FOUR PLATES AND COLOURED FRONTISPIECE

LONDON

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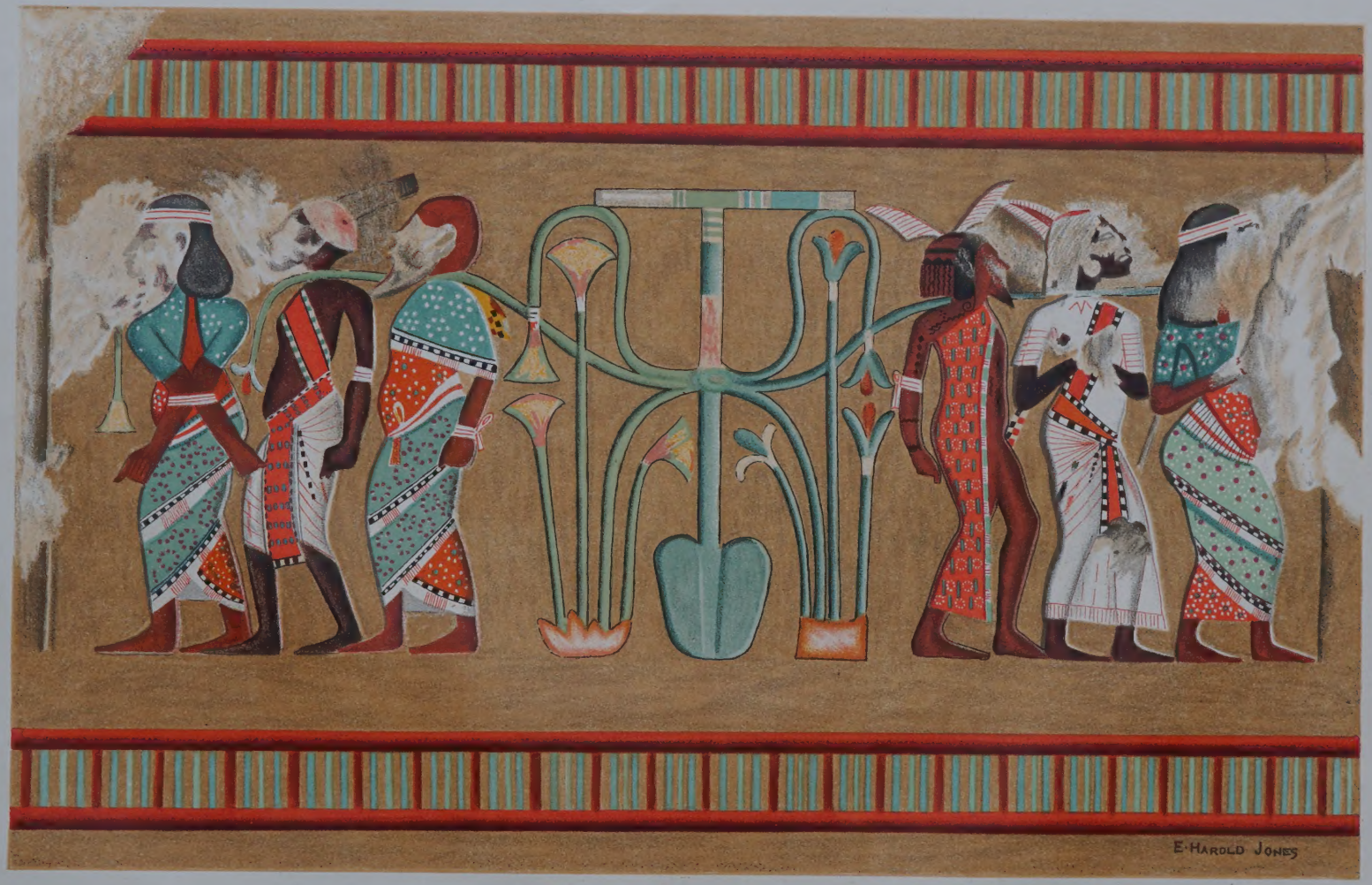

SUBJECT RACES OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE.

(See El Amarna VI., Plate IV.)

Scale ¼.

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421

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

CONTENTS

PAGE

List of Plates vii

Chapter I. The Tomb of Maÿ.

A. Previous Work 1

B. Architectural Features.

Exterior 1

Interior 1

Vault 2

C. Scenes and Inscriptions.

North thickness 2

South thickness 2

West Wall: South Side 3

D. Maÿ, the Official 4

Chapter II. The Tomb of Any.

A. Architectural Features.

Exterior 6

Interior 7

Entrance 7

Corridor 8

Burial-shaft 8

Shrine 8

B. Scenes 8

C. Personal 9

D. Votive stelae 9

Chapter III. Small or Uninscribed Tombs.

Chapter IV. The Religious Texts.

A. Prayers by the deceased 16

B. Burial petitions 17

CHAPTER V. THE BOUNDARY STELAE. PAGE

A. Their distribution 19
B. Their history and contents 20
C. Description of the Stelae 22
D. Previous work on the site 27
E. The earlier proclamation 28
F. The later proclamation 31

INDEX 35

LIST OF PLATES

WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES ON WHICH THEY ARE DESCRIBED.

PLATE		PAGES
I.	Tomb of Maÿ. Plan and section	1, 2
II.	Section, column, and inscriptions	2, 4, 5, 16
III.	N. thickness. The Royal family worships Aten	2
IV.	S. thickness and jambs	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
V.	W. wall. The Quay of Akhetaten	1, 3, 4
VI.	Tomb 16. Plan	13
VII.	,, Sections, etc.	13
VIII.	,, Section. Tomb 23 (Any). Plan and sections	6, 7, 3, 13
IX.	Tomb of Any. Shrine: left wall	8, 17
X.	,, Shrine: right wall	8, 9, 17
XI.	,, Outer jambs and graffito	7, 8, 17
XII.	Tombs 17 and 20. Plans and sections	13, 14
XIII.	Tombs 18 and 24 (Pa-aten-em-heb). Plans, etc.	14, 15, 18
XIV.	Tombs 12, 25A and 19 (Sutau). Plans, etc.	12, 13, 14, 15
XV.	Tomb 20. Lintel. Tomb of Sutau. Inscription	14, 17
XVI.	Tomb 22. Lintel. Tomb 21. Plan and sections	14
XVII.	Tomb 22. Plan and sections	14
XVIII.	Tombs 7C and 24A. Plans and sections	12, 15
*XIX.	Site of Tombs. Prayer of Maÿ	12, 16
*XX.	Figure and shrine of Any	7, 8
*XXI.	Stelae of Pakha and Nebwawi	9, 10
*XXII.	Stelae of Any-men and Thaÿ	10
*XXIII.	Stelae of Ptahmaÿ and Aÿ	10, 11
*XXIV.	Tomb 16. Interior	19
XXV.	Stela U. Lower part	27, 32, 33
XXVI.	Stela S	22, 23, 26
XXVII.	Collated text of boundary stelae	20, 31, 32
XXVIII.	,, ,, (*continued*)	32, 33
XXIX.	Stela K. Text	28, 29, 30, 31
XXX.	,, ,, (*continued*)	30, 31
XXXI.	Stela X. Text	28, 29, 30, 31
XXXII.	,, ,, (*continued*)	30, 31
XXXIII.	Stelae A and N. Fragments. Stelae A and B. Closing lines	20, 22, 23, 25

* *Photographic Plates.*

PLATE		PAGES
XXXIV.	Stelae A and U.† Fragments. Map of Akhetaten .	19, 20, 23, 24, 31, 33
*XXXV.	Interior of Tomb 21. Hall of Maÿ	2, 14
*XXXVI.	Maÿ : N. thickness. Tomb 22. Stelae A and J	2, 14, 23, 24
*XXXVII.	Stelae K and U	24, 25, 27
*XXXVIII.	Stela K : lines 1–31	28, 29, 30, 31
*XXXIX.	Stela S	22, 23, 26
*XL.	Stelae S and N	23, 25, 26
*XLI.	Site of Stela Q. Stela A	23, 24, 26
*XLII.	Stelae Q and R	26
*XLIII.	Stela A. (*Drawing by Hay*)	23, 24, 27
*XLIV.	Pottery. Fragments of Stelae. Site of Stela S. . . .	13, 23, 25, 26, 27

* *Photographic Plates.* † *Wrongly lettered in the Plate.*

THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF MAŸ ( ).

A. Previous Work.

The existence of this large tomb (No. 14) must have been patent to visitors at all periods; but as the entrance was almost completely blocked with sand, what was visible was extremely unpromising, and the tomb was not cleared by M. Bouriant in 1883. This task, however, was carried out by M. Barsanti ten years later, and M. Daressy published most of the texts of this tomb of a "flabellifère," but not his name, for he found it erased from the inscriptions.[1]

B. Architectural Features.

(Plates i., ii.)

Exterior.—The approach which has been cut through the rock-slope is not much broader than the portal. The latter has the customary form and decoration, but the surface of the lintel is almost destroyed. It showed the usual duplicated scene of the Royal family adoring Aten. As may be gathered from fragments of the north end given on Plate v., three princesses and the Queen's sister Mutbenret were included. The inscription here apparently refers to the retinue: "The royal followers after their multitudes, attendants on the feet of their lord (?) . . ." The name of the deceased, as well as his title of "Royal Scribe" at the end of the columns on the jambs, has been hacked out and the remains have been covered over with tenacious plaster. (The text will be found on Plate iv. and a translation on pp. 17, 18.)

Interior (Plate xxxv.).—Although the hall as planned was ambitious enough, its present appearance is very unattractive, less owing to its unfinished state than to the blackness and filth which overlies all the interior, except low down near the entrance where the walls have always been protected by the invading sand. This grime is due largely, if not entirely, to the countless bats which have housed here from time immemorial, and still assert their ancient privilege. But the state of the walls and columns seems also to show that at some time when the hall was filled with coffined mummies a fierce fire broke out in this inflammable material; for a fœtid atmosphere seems hardly able to account for the appearance of the tomb, and some of the bones recently thrown out are certainly calcined, but whether by the excavators or no I cannot say.

The ceiling of the hall was intended to be

[1] Bouriant, *Deux jours de fouilles*, p. 8; Daressy, *Recueil*, xv., pp. 38–41. The name, though defaced, was picked out by me on the left jamb some years ago, as also by Breasted independently. It is absolutely plain on the South Thickness, and legible on the ceiling; but the tomb is still anonymous in *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., pp. 71–77.

carried by twelve papyrus-columns; but, as usual, only those of the central aisle have been given their final form (see Plate ii. for details of the west column on the north side of the aisle). The adjoining two in the west row merely show the stems on the capitals; the rest on the north are even less advanced, while on the south one is still a square pillar. Of the remaining two, only the abaci have been detached from the mass of unremoved rock which still fills this corner of the hall to within a yard of the ceiling.

The usual features of this type of tomb are to be found, though in an unfinished state, viz., the doubly-corniced door which was the promise of an inner chamber, and the shrines for statues of the deceased at each end of the nearest cross-aisle. The door is undecorated and now much mutilated. The North Shrine contains a standing figure of Maÿ, which, though the merest *bozzo*, allows his long wig and the fan of office over his right shoulder to be divined. The north and south walls of the hall are in the roughest state, but it is evident that the inner row of columns at least was to terminate in pilasters of the usual form. The unfinished pillar is still attached to the side by a party-wall of rock, to which a rough coping has been given in order to make the best of the unremoved mass.

Vault.—A rough place of burial has been provided by means of a stairway, which descends in the north-east corner of the tomb and penetrates a short distance under the east wall. At the nineteenth stair a level space leaves scanty room for an interment. The lower half of the pilaster has been cut away to give a wider passage, showing that the staircase was not part of the original design.

C. Scenes and Inscriptions.

(Plates ii., iii., iv., v., xix., xxxvi.)

The only mural decorations within the tomb occur on both sides of the entrance and on the south side of the west wall.

North Thickness.—(Plates iii., xxxvi.)[1]. On the left hand in the thickness of the wall of rock the scene of the worship of the Aten by the Royal family takes the main place, and below this was the prayer and praying figure of Maÿ. The King and Queen, who present the censer and libation-vase to the sun from behind a laden altar, are followed by three of their daughters and by Mutbenret. The last is attended, as she is wont to be, by her two female dwarfs, Para and Re-neheh.[2] The presence of this princess here has no special significance. The subjects of the various walls of tombs in this group seem to have been settled by the example of Aÿ, who, as father of Nefertiti and of Mutbenret, naturally included the latter also in the Royal group.

The text of the prayer of Maÿ will be found on Pls. ii., xix., its translation on p. 16.[3] It is in excellent condition; but the kneeling figure of Maÿ has been remorselessly destroyed and the space covered with coarse plaster. It can just be seen that Maÿ was kneeling with right hand uplifted and the left holding the fan over his shoulder. Apparently he wore the festal cap. His name, which occurred in the middle of the inscription, has been similarly expunged, and this hostility has been also shown to the mention of his office of Royal Scribe and of some other dignity, as on the jambs outside.

South Thickness.—The same evidence of a fall from favour appears on the South Thickness (Pl. iv.), where Maÿ had another address of his inscribed in five columns the full height of the wall, and in shorter columns over a kneeling figure.[4] In this case not only was the figure overlaid (probably after defacement) with a

[1] *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Plate xxxii. The sky in the scene extends over the doorway on the left hand, its end resting upon the mountains.

[2] Cf. Part II., pp. 13, 14, Part VI., Pls. xxvi., xxviii., xxxi.

[3] *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxxiii. A translation is also given in Breasted, *Records*, II., pp. 412, 413.

[4] The figures shown in Plates xxxiii., xxxiv. of the above work, though fictitious, since the original is invisible, seem roughly to resemble the original attitudes.

rough and most tenacious plaster, but the incised hieroglyphs also were filled up. In part owing to the different nature of the defacing plaster, they now assume the form of an inlay and are legible; but a large part I found quite obliterated and had painfully to pick out the filling. Sometimes this came away readily and left the original sign clear, but often the process was difficult and the resulting form uncertain. Something might still be done to improve the text, and it may be that the short columns can also be recovered in part. (For a translation see below.)

West Wall: South Side.—This wall is the only one inside the tomb which shows decoration or is prepared to receive it. Even here the scene is only traced in ink, and only preserved as far up as the protecting bank of sand extended. Fortunately the part saved is that which has the most interest (Plate v.).

The scene seems to have been that of the reward of May at the balcony of the palace, but the artist has deviated from the usual model and has given a foreground to the scene.[1] The palace, as we know, lay near the bank of the river, and this, with the Royal barges, landing-stage and gardens, has been included by him in his picture. Presumably the scene is as close to fact as an Egyptian artist could make it.[2]

In the background we see a colonnade running along the river-front of the palace. A uraeus-crowned gate having seven columns with open papyrus-capitals on either (?) side of it forms the entrance to the palace; and from it two diverging paths lead down the bank (in a sloping line therefore) to two landing-stages raised on piles and carrying uraeus-topped kiosks or fencing. At one the barge of the King, at the other that of the Queen, is made fast to mooring-stakes at stem and stern, with a crowd of craft above and below, similar but simpler, to accommodate the Royal household. On the foreshore the crews are busy at work repairing the tackle, etc. To the right lie the oars neatly lashed together, the mast, the yards, the sails and the tackle. A sailor is making a net in approved fashion, holding the end taut between his toes, while with one hand and the other foot he extends the edge on which he is working. His right hand holds the netting-shuttle. Near him a man is trimming the shaft of a paddle which a boy holds steady for him. Elsewhere men are taking oars from a pile or binding masts. Stands of meat are shown also. Further up the bank gardeners are busy removing bouquets and foliage which they have been cutting for decorations. The strip of ground between the palace and the quay is thickly planted with palms, leafy shrubs, clumps of papyrus and flowers; and on the right a tree is seen, growing in a brick holder, which is pierced with outlets for the moisture.

The barges of the King and Queen are distinguished not only by their size, but by the heads of their Majesties (the King wearing the *Atef*-crown, the Queen the double plume), carved at the top of the steering-paddles. Otherwise, the two boats are similarly constructed. Along the side runs a light hooped railing to prevent accidents. On the deck there are three erections. At each end is an open kiosk, the canopy of which is adorned with uraei and supported on slender columns. Whether they contain images or deck-seats for their Majesties is no longer clear, but it may be that the Queen and her daughters are to be seen there on the after-deck of their boat. In the middle of each vessel is a much larger two-storied construction. A cabin furnished with side doors and windows is seen below. Above this there is a covered upper-deck, reached by a companion-ladder aft, which ascends under a columned portico to a *loggia* exactly resembling

[1] I may be wrong in supplying columns here. The portico would be on the other side of the building.

[2] A fragment of a similar scene is among the pieces in Cairo Museum which came from the wreck of Akhenaten's temple at Karnak. It shows uraeus-crowned gates, on which Aten sheds his rays, a tree in the sunshine, and a man carrying oars.

that of the palace. It would seem from the port-holes that there are cabins also in the hull. Ribbons flutter from the columns, from the steering-paddles and from the stern itself, and all is light and gay as if designed for careless hours.

This detailed picture by a contemporary townsman, of a spot which we can definitely locate and visit, brings the far Past up before us with rare vividness.

The picture is surrounded by a border of yellow and red lines outside that shown in the plate.

The tablets of the columns in the aisle still retain traces of the red and black ink of their design, showing the King, Queen, and at least one princess, adoring to right and left of the Aten. On the north half of the west wall are some half-effaced graffiti (Plate v.),[1] reading, perhaps, "this piece (?) 2 days"; "this piece (?) 5 days"; "year ii. . . ." (possibly the date of construction). The inscription on the ceiling of the hall, if there was one, has perished. That in the entrance is partly legible. (Plate ii. Translation on p. 18.)

D. Maÿ, the Official.

As the inscription on the South Thickness (Pl. iv.), which attempts to put into words Maÿ's loyal attitude to the King, is, despite all grandiloquence, a description of his career, it is in place to insert it here.[2]

"An adoration of Horakhti[-Aten, who giveth life; of the King of South and North, living in Truth], Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-ua-en-ra, the Son of the Sun, living in Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten, great in his duration; and of the heiress, great in the palace, fair of face, gay with the two plumes, beloved of the Aten, the chief wife of the King, whom he loves, Lady of the Lands, Nefertiti, living for ever and ever.

(2) "The Bearer of the Fan on [the right hand of the King] . . . . . whom the King of the South hath enlarged . . . . . whose sustenance (or "whose *Ka*") the Sovereign hath provided, one beloved by his Lord every day; one whose happiness comes (though) old age arrives and whose body is hale (though) time passes; one great in favour and happy in [honours?]; one who followed [his] lord and was the companion (?)[3] of his feet for life, whose love is stable; the Royal Scribe, Scribe of recruits, Overseer of the house of Sehetep-Aten, Overseer of the house of Ua-en-ra in On, Overseer of the cattle of the temple of Ra in On, (3) [Overseer] of all [the works] of the King, Overseer of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands, Maÿ.

"[He says: 'Listen][4] ye to what I say, all men (lit. "every eye") both great and small; (for) I relate to you the benefits which the Ruler did me. Then truly ye shall say, "How great are these things that were done for this man of no account!" Then truly ye shall [ask] for him (the King) an eternity of *sed*-festivals, an everlasting period as Lord of the Two Lands. (4) Then truly shall[5] he do for you [such as] he has done for me; the God who dispenses life!

"'I was a man of low origin both on my father's and on my mother's side, but the Prince established me. He caused me to grow, he . . . . . me by his bounty, when I was a man of no property. He made my people to grow in number (?) for me, he caused my (5) brethren to be many, he caused that all my people worked[6] for me; (and when) I became lord of a town, he caused me to associate with Princes and Companions (though) I had been one who held the last place.[7] He gave to me provisions and rations[8] every day, I who had been one that begged bread.[9] He caused. . . . . .'"

Maÿ held the rank or office of

1. *Erpa* prince.
2. *Ha* prince.
3. Royal Chancellor.
4. Sole Companion.
5. Scribe of the King.
6. Overseer of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands.

---

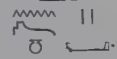
[1] Cf. *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 77.

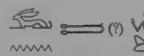
[2] *Ib.*, Plate xxxiv.

[3] If we may emend to . Cf. III., xxvii.; IV., ii.

[4] Reading .

[5] Read .

[6] Reading  .

[7] Cf. II., p. 29. Read and lower down  .

[8] Emending to .

[9] Reading

7. Overseer of the house of Sehetep-Aten.[1]
8. Overseer of the house of Ua-en-ra in On.
9. Overseer of the cattle of the temple of Ra in On.
10. Overseer of all the works of the King.
11. Scribe of recruits.
12. Bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King.

The two broken titles on the ceiling (Pl. ii.) perhaps only repeat titles 6 and 10. If we are to give full credit to this list, we must assign to Maÿ a high place amongst those who early threw in their full lot with the new 'Teaching' and were entrusted with the highest administrative posts. The offices occurring immediately before his name in the above inscription are probably those which imposed definite duties, while that of Bearer of the Fan, which he places first, brought him most into personal contact with the King. The post of Acting Scribe to the King was in those times the most difficult and responsible, and it appears to have been in the discharge of its duties that he met sudden disgrace and, not improbably, sudden death. Life, however, if short for Maÿ, must have been full of the sweets of successful ambition and the satisfaction of well-rewarded activity. He became one of those who entered most closely into the friendship and projects of the King, and has set down in lasting letters, as well as in charming picture, his pride in the hours of close companionship with the King on the river in his splendid barge.

The Egyptian official was wont to find in his rapid rise from low office and origin the greater matter for pride. Maÿ glories in the fact that whereas he had formerly begged his bread he now associates with princes; but Egyptian sentiment was probably not so far different from our own but that we may suspect that this was a cause of his downfall. His degradation was even more swift and absolute than his rise. If the names both of his father and his mother were of no account, the King now sought to blot his out altogether from the book of life. We cannot wonder, as we read Maÿ's lavish expressions of gratitude, that Akhenaten took special care to erase this biography, lest it should stand as a satire on the favour of kings. It has been the more pleasure to baffle Maÿ's enemies and restore his name to history.

It is interesting to find that Maÿ had special offices outside Akhetaten, but it is of course precisely in Heliopolis that the jurisdiction of the sun-worshipping King would be most readily accepted. Our desire for information as to the administration of the country from the new capital is little advanced, therefore; for it would be rash to conclude from the mention of a palace of Akhenaten in On that the King at times resided there.

The depiction of three princesses in the tomb shows that it could not have been inscribed earlier than the seventh year of Akhenaten, and the downfall of Maÿ probably occurred almost immediately. It is possible that he was succeeded in his office of Overseer of soldiery by Rames or Paatenemheb, as Overseer of works by Tutu, as Fanbearer by Ahmes, and that his honours as *Erpa Ha* Prince and Royal Chancellor fell to Nekhtpaaten. But our knowledge of the administration of Egypt is all too meagre for anything but surmise.

[1] This house is mentioned on ostraca at El Amarna (Griffith, in Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 33, Pl. xxii., Nos. 5, 19–22). It appears to be the name of a royal person ("who appeases Aten"), whether it be a rarely-mentioned appellation of the King, or his father, or the Aten-name of some other member of the Royal family. Breasted (*Records*, II., p. 411) supposes it to be a temple. The writing of the name in the fourth column of the left jamb (Pl. iv.) is a scribal error (cf. the muddled spelling of Title 8 on the right jamb).

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF ANY ( ).

THE position of this tomb (No. 23) will best be learnt from the map (IV., xiii.). A broad road leads to it from the river, marking out the spot as the site of an important tomb. It was, however, not opened till 1891, when M. Barsanti cleared this and other tombs of the Necropolis.[1] The tomb differs in appearance from all and even in type from most others in the southern group, and by its greater similarity to the corridor tombs of the N. group it gives a hint, confirmed elsewhere, of its later position in the series.

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

(Plates viii., xi.)

EXTERIOR.—The tomb is unique in the Necropolis in regard to many details of construction, all tending to tasteful finish and architectural decorativeness. The greatest innovation, and one rare in rock tombs in Egypt, is the provision of a portico outside. As this convenience was well known in domestic as well as in temple architecture, and the palace at El Amarna in particular set an example of luxury in this respect, it is not to be wondered at that the Egyptians desired to furnish their "houses of eternity" with it also. But the labour involved rarely permitted this in the case of rock tombs, and Any was able to gratify his finer tastes only by restraining his ambitions in point of size and complexity.

Even so, the architect was not able to do more than indicate how pleasing was the design which it was his intention to carry out. As it stands, the exterior is only a rough-hewn sketch which the imagination must complete. The tomb being set in a hill of very gradual slope, the approach was never excavated.[2] One reaches the tomb by a long flight of steps in a somewhat narrow cutting, so that the façade lies in an underground area and is robbed of a great deal of its effectiveness. The portico was not to be of the usual type, extending across the frontage and shading the door, but took the form of porches on either side of the doorway, as if they were the ends of a more extended colonnade. Although this architectural feature is only touched in, so to speak, the builder's intentions just emerging from the living rock below and around, yet it is plain that the column which supports the corniced architraves on either side was to be the only one, being balanced, no doubt, by a pilaster of the usual form in the rock-wall. The narrow width of the hall inside would not have justified a greater breadth outside. The walls and floor of the excavation are left in the uneven state which marks an abandoned enterprise, but in the wall under the portico on the right will be seen three rounded niches, and there is a similar one on the left. These niches contained votive tablets of stone dedicated to Any by his household, which fortunately were still in place when the tomb was cleared,

[1] M. Daressy published the texts in the fifteenth volume of the *Recueil*, pp. 42–45, and the whole tomb has been included in *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pls. xxv.–xxix., pp. 49–56.

[2] The slope of the hill continues far beyond the limit of the plan, so that an approach at the floor level would have been quite feasible, and was no doubt contemplated.

and are now, with two others, in the Cairo Museum.[1]

The portal, which is of the usual form, has also the customary scenes and inscriptions; but the lintel, which showed the King and Queen, followed by three princesses and by attendants, offering to Aten on each side of a central altar-table, is too weather-worn to be worth reproducing. On the right hand the King and Queen offer *kherp* sceptres; on the left, globular vases (?). The faces of the Queen and of the youngest princess are still fairly well preserved.

The door jambs are not occupied by burial petitions, but simply by a salutation of the regnant powers, divine and human, three times repeated on either side in incised hieroglyphs (Plate xi.; cf. I., xxxv.). The later form of the cartouches of Aten is adopted here (cf. IV., p. 14). Beneath this on both sides are the prayers and praying figures of Any. (For translation, see p. 17.)

Interior.—The corridor to which the portal gives entrance creates a most pleasing effect, for though the tomb had to be left almost untouched as regards mural decoration, yet a complete finish was given to the tomb in other respects, and in particular the cornice under the ceiling and over the portal of the shrine, with its bright bars of blue, green, blue, red, gives an air of gaiety to the hall (Plate xx.). The statue in its shrine, too, is sufficiently perfect to create a true impression.

Entrance.—The decoration on the thickness of the walls has been hastily yet neatly carried out in crude colours. Affinity to the northern tombs is again shown in the full-sized figures of the deceased which occupy the walls; that on the right, strangely enough, being represented as entering, while that on the left faces outward. The whole wall is laid out in yellow wash, and the pictures are surrounded by a border of blue and red bands; the square hole fashioned on the left, to receive the door-bolt when shot, being also neatly outlined. The enclosed space on the right occupies only half the wall, so as to admit of the door being thrown back. The figures are in solid red, the flesh tints showing faintly when under only one thickness of raiment. On the right hand (Plate xx.) Any enters, carrying staff and nosegay and shod with sandals, as if he had just been for a stroll in the sunshine and plucked some flowers on the river bank. On the left, however, he stands with upraised hands adoring the sun, an attitude which befits the text inscribed in front of him in black ink. It is a recension of the Shorter Hymn to the Aten, but the upper part of the lines is obliterated.[2] The personal ending to the hymn is as follows:—

"The intimate of the King, whom his lord loves, the favourite whom the Lord of the Two Lands (?) created by his bounty, who has reached the blessed reward by the favour of the King, the acting scribe of the King beloved by him, Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands, Scribe of the Offering Table of Aten for the Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten,[3] Steward of the house of King Aa-kheperu-ra, Any, blessed with a good burial, says (it)." What is legible of a short biographical notice in front of Any on the opposite wall adds nothing to this.

On the vacant space on the right-hand wall a figure has been scratched roughly in the plaster with many strokes of a sharp point (Plate xi.).

[1] See below.

[2] For text and translation see Vol. IV., Plates xxxii., xxxiii., and pp. 28, 29.

[3] This may be the building mentioned in I., xxx. (p. 36).

It evidently represents Any, for this, like other well-preserved profiles of Any, shows a peculiarity which may have been a consequence of age—a falling in, namely, of the upper lip or a tightening of it on the teeth. The artist apparently wished to practise Any's portrait or to leave it as a guide to the decorators.

The ceiling has been squared out in readiness to receive a pattern.

Corridor (Plate xx.).—Though the walls are well finished, no trace of design is found on them. The hollow cornice, bright with colour, which runs along the sides under the ceiling is in itself very decorative. This feature is present besides only in Tomb 21. With us the cornice is a familiar feature of house decoration, but to the Egyptian it was known rather as a form of wall-coping. Here it projects a little beyond the spring of the slightly vaulted ceiling, as if to suggest that the latter was a light canopy resting on solid walls.

Burial-Shaft.—No chamber other than the shrine being provided, the place of interment was reached from a shaft in the floor of the corridor. A door in the further wall of the pit admits to a roomy chamber under the shrine, on the left-hand (NE.) side of which is a second pit or shaft, capable of being covered with slabs. The sand remaining in this did not permit me to ascertain its depth. In the back wall two little recesses are cut which have evidently been used to set lamps or candles in, and were probably intended to serve this purpose either to the excavators or to the spirit of the deceased. There is one also on either side of the entrance to the chamber.[1]

Shrine.—The portal to this is of the usual corniced type, as if leading from the outer air. It was decorated, but only in ink, and this has so faded that we can only see that Any and his prayers were to occupy the ends of the lintel with the series of cartouches in the centre, while columns of text occupied the jambs.

The shrine is almost filled with the rock daïs on which the chair of the deceased is set. This is guarded in front by a little parapet neatly finished on top with a rounded moulding between flat edgings, and is reached by a flight of four shallow steps. Despite the capital preservation of the tomb, the statue has suffered considerable damage. It retains, however, its general form, and depicts Any in full wig sitting in a chair with his feet on a high footstool.

B. Scenes.

(Plates ix., x.)

The walls of the shrine on either side are decorated in colour in a very simple way, appropriate to the place. The sketch (which is mainly in red paint) is very rough, and has been much corrected by a more skilful hand in red line. In each case Any, seated on a chair, receives offerings at the hand of one of his servants named Meryra. A mat is spread beneath his feet. On the left wall Any helps himself from a table piled with provisions, while Meryra appears to be reciting the formulæ which give them efficacy. On the right wall Any is accompanied by a lady, and holds the baton of office. Meryra presents him with a cruse of ointment (?), accompanying the act with many a prayer for his happiness. The inscriptions above both scenes are unfortunately almost indecipherable; the fragments exhibited, having been secured with great difficulty, are offered with as much reserve. (For translations see p. 17.) The recipient is described as "the Scribe of the King, beloved of his lord, [Scribe of the altar-table of] the Aten, Scribe of the altar of . . . [Overseer] of the works of the Lord of the Two Lands in Akhetaten, [Steward of the] House of Aakheperu-ra, who giveth life, Any, *maakheru* . . . in peace." The lady who stands behind Any (Plate x.) apparently survived him, for we read,

[1] Probably the chamber was used for later interments, the original burial having been disturbed to make room for them, for nothing of the burial equipment was found by the French excavators, if we may judge by their silence.

"[His wife (?)] the lady of the house (?), A . . ., says . . . he ordered (?) for thee thy house of eternity."

C. Personal.

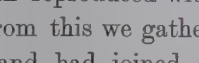
The six stelae reproduced on Plates xxi., xxii., xxiii., were found in this tomb when it was cleared by M. Barsanti in 1891,[1] as the Museum records show. They are of very exceptional interest, and since no others have been forthcoming on this site we may suppose that Any especially deserved, and in marked measure won, the regard of his servants or friends. The donors appear to have been for the most part small officials, probably in his own service, with the exception of his brother, who dedicates one of the least pretentious of the stones. The little monuments seem all to be the outcome of a genuine affection which sought some means of expression, though that of the charioteer may fall in a different category. This impression is deepened when we find the characteristic facial features of the dead man reproduced with such care upon them all. From this we gather that Any was an old man, and had joined Akhenaten's enterprise late in life. It accords with this that no other grave of the officials of Akhetaten gives such sure indications of having been occupied, and that his brother Ptahmaÿ clung to his banned name. A further evidence of Any's age is that of his title of Steward of the House of King Aa-kheperu-ra. As the reign of that king (Amenhetep II.) would only carry us back about fifty years, and the office might possibly continue, or even begin, after the king's death, there is no reason why Any should not have seen four kings on the throne of Egypt, or why one should search after other Royal persons of this name whose existence is more than doubtful.[2] That Any's life should extend so far back beyond days when Egypt was troubled by religious schism would be a new reason for the esteem in which he was held.

The death of Any probably did not take place before the abandonment of the necropolis, for the new form of the cartouches of Aten is already seen on the outer door-jambs, which would be the first part to be engraved. His offices need not have entailed any great activity on his part. Of his relationships or previous career we know nothing.

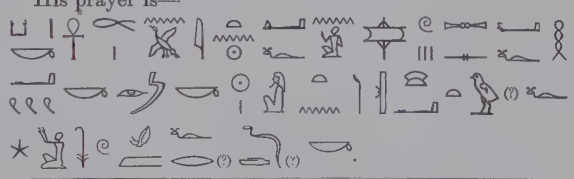
D. Votive Stelae.

The six votive stelae referred to above are as follows :—

1. Stela of Pakha[3] (Plate xxi.).

On the left Any sits in a high-backed chair placed upon a mat. His right hand holds a napkin or sash, his left is laid upon a basket of provisions which stands before him. Any, "blessed with goodly burial," is given his usual titles. A man in official's garb who presents him with a bouquet is identified by the inscription below: "The Overseer of works, Pakha  , *maakheru*, made (it)."[4]

His prayer is—



[1] M. Daressy in his account (*Recueil*, xv., pp. 44, 45) knows of only five. That of (Ptah)maÿ he reports to have been found in the *débris*, implying that the other four were discovered in their niches. Steindorff has dealt fully with these four in *Ä. Z.*, 1896, pp. 63–69. I am greatly indebted to M. Lacau for discovering the two lost stelae in the Museum, and to Brugsch Bey for having them photographed for this work.

[2] See Legrain in *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, pp. 53, 54. The cartouche occurs also, I think, on a fragment from Akhenaten's temple at Karnak (Cairo Museum). A fragment from El Amarna depicted by Wilkinson in his *Modern Egypt*, II., p. 69, shows Akhenaten offering to Aten, and describes the god as dwelling in the midst of the house of King Men-kheperu-ra (Thothmes IV.) in the house of Aten in Akhetaten. If this is correct, it is easy to admit a house of his predecessor also, whatever these shrines (?) may have been.

[3] No. 29745 in the Museum Journal. Inscribed "Grotte No. 24, Hag Candil. 26.10.91." Height, 41 cm.; breadth, 27 cm. This and the following stela, from their size, seem to have come from the niches in the W. porch. Steindorff reads the name as Pa-kharu, "the Syrian." *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxvi.

[4] Apparently Pakha sets *maakheru*, "*selig*," after his name in devout anticipation of his own day of death.

"Unto thy *Ka!* A bouquet of the Aten. May he give to me breezes. May he knit thy limbs. Mayest thou see Ra whenever he rises and adore him, and may he listen to what thou sayest."

2. Stela of Nebwawi[1] (Plate xxi.).

On the upper half Any is seen standing on the right with staff and handkerchief. The scribe Nebwawi, dressed very simply, and holding his papyrus roll, says to him . "Behold the ox as to which it was said: 'Bring it.'" We are permitted to see the noble beast for ourselves; for, in a second scene, Nebwawi leads it forward, gay with lotus flowers attached to a broad collar round its neck. . "The scribe Nebwawi saith: 'We (?) have seen the good things which the good ruler has done to his Scribe of the Altar. He has ordered for him a goodly burial in Akhetaten.'"

3. Stela of Any-men[2] (Plate xxii.).

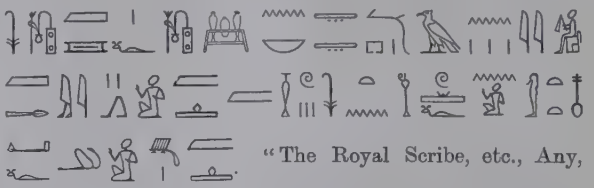
. "The servant Any-men made (it) for the Royal Scribe Any."

On the left Any sits on a folding stool over which a skin is stretched as a seat. Behind him is the latticed door of the shrine in his tomb, and in front of him a table spread with viands and flowers. Any-men extends to his master a large jar "for the *ka* of . . . Any, *maakheru*," saying, "Let wine be poured out for thee."

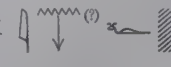
4. Stela of Thaÿ[3] (Plate xxii.).

Unlike the other stelae, this makes no contribution to the maintenance of the *ka* of Any, nor is it expressly devoted to him by any of his servants, though naming and depicting "the charioteer of the Royal Scribe Any, Thaÿ." The subject is such as would suitably form a scene on the walls of the tomb, and it is not unlikely that Aný, having a just foreboding that these would never be executed, caused this charming stela to be made as a provisional decoration, and there is, in fact, a little space of this shape marked out in ink low down in the centre of the right-hand wall of the corridor. It may have been intended, therefore, to set the stela up at this point. Never probably had the aged Any had happier moments in his later years than those which he or Thaÿ here commemorates, when he drove along the cleared road from the city to this tomb which was being prepared for him by the order of the King.

The little monument represents Any being driven in his pair-horsed chariot by "the charioteer Thaÿ." Any is in full gala costume. The conical cap is on his long wig, a ring is in his ear, five golden collars hang on his neck, and armlets and bracelets adorn his arms. His face gives a most life-like impression, and corresponds exactly to the other profiles which we have. The head of Thaÿ is probably also modelled from life with more or less exactness. The inscription informs us—

 . "The Royal Scribe, etc., Any, *maakheru*, (says) 'I come in peace with the favour of the King, who orders for me goodly burial, and grants that I reach the guerdon (of the dead) in peace.'"

5. Stela of . . . . Maÿ (Ptahmaÿ ?).[4] Plate xxiii.

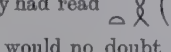
Any sits on a chair on the left, holding a *kherp* baton and kerchief. A table of provisions is before him and he is being addressed  "by his brother . . . . Maÿ,[5]" who carries a scribe's roll and prays—

[1] No. 29746. Inscribed as above. Height, 42·5 cm.; breadth, 28 cm. *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxv.

[2] No. 29747. Docketed as above. Height, 27 cm.; breadth, 23 cm. The little stela is carefully worked, and the colour is still preserved, as well as the gold leaf which overlaid the collar, armlets and bracelets. Portraiture has evidently been attempted. *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxvi.

[3] No. 29748. Same docket. Height, 27 cm.; breadth, 23·5 cm. An exquisitely-worked little stela in perfect condition. It is coloured yellow, and has a blue rim and blue hieroglyphs. The horses are red, as are also the panels of the car and of the bow-case. The flesh is red, and Any's hair and eye black. *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxv.

[4] No. 29749. Same docket. The stela has lost its lower scene, if it had one.

[5] The signs before the name have been erased. One would say that they had read  "Ptahmaÿ." The word "Ptah" would no doubt account for an erasure. This name is common at Memphis, whence many of Akhenaten's craftsmen would be sure to come, and there are men of this name whose relations bear names so well known at El Amarna as to offer tempting identifications,

"May there be made for thee a *dy hetep seten* of bread, beer, oxen, fowl and a libation of wine and milk."[1]

The faces of the two brothers are much alike, but the work is less careful.

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especially Ptahmaÿ, father of Pa-aten-em-heb (LIEBLEIN, 670; also *ib.* 2016). Daressy (*Recueil*, xv., p. 45) boldly jumps the difficulty. Though "the Scribe Maÿ" is not an impossible reading, it would be too hazardous to seek an identification with the owner of Tomb 14.

[1] Prima facie "milk of the king"; but the must be mistake for the determinative .

6. Stela of Aÿ[2] (Plate xxiii.).

Any sits on the left before a small stand with flowers, his feet resting on a footstool. The stela was devoted "by the servant Aÿ," who is shown presenting a bouquet to Any.[3] "(For) thy *ka!* A bouquet of the Aten, who favours and loves thee!"

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[2] No. 29750. Height 23 cm.; breadth 15 cm. A poor little stela, but the face of Any still shows the familiar features. Hitherto unpublished.

[3] The reading *sdm 'ash* was proposed to me by M. Lacau.

CHAPTER III.

SMALL OR UNINSCRIBED TOMBS.

In Part IV., Chapter II., some general observations were made on the architecture and types of tombs in the Southern Necropolis. It remains to supplement this by more detailed notes on the tombs separately. The official enumeration, which starts with the most northern tomb of the group, will be followed.[1]

Tomb 7A. (Part IV., Plate xxxiv.)

A small tomb, of the cross-corridor type, of which I cleared only the entrance, as no trace of inscriptions was found in the parts which are wont to receive them first. The cornice outside is destroyed. The floor is still deep in stone chips removed in trimming down the upper part of the tomb. The aisle is, as usual, higher than the rest of the corridor.

Tomb 7B. (*ib.*)

This tomb adjoins the last and would probably have resembled it within as well as without, but the interior has been little more than attacked.

Tomb 7C. (Plate xviii.)

This is a much larger tomb, reaching the dignity of a single row of columns and a roughly cut second chamber and place of interment. But there are plentiful signs here of haste and slovenly construction, and, as there is an enormous pile of broken vessels of late date outside, it is possible that the rough corridor beyond the hall and the low chamber on the north are later additions. The façade has suffered greatly, and as there was only a remote chance of finding a name in ink on the outer jambs, I did not attempt to remove the mass of sand outside. The door was blocked up with bricks and stones, and loosely-built walls of stone had been placed to keep the approach clear. Inside only the upper part is finished. The columns and the walls splay out near the ground and almost meet.[2] Of the four columns only the two of the aisle have been given any decoration. The sharp rib of the eight imaginary papyrus stems is shown between the inserted stalks, and is continued above the sheathing on the capital.[3] No trace of inscription is visible.

Tomb 9A. (Part IV., Plate xxx.)

This little tomb also is unfinished inside. The façade shows the usual portal, but is quite blank of any record.

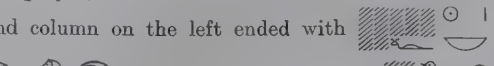
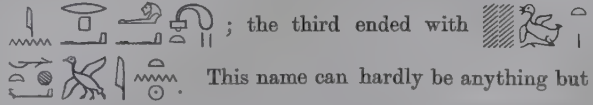
Tomb 9B. (Part IV., Plate xxxiv.)

This tomb is of the simplest type, the door being set in a rough pit to which two or three steps descend. The front shows no decoration. In the little chamber to which the entrance admits there is a shallow burial-pit on the right-hand side; but I found it empty, though I appeared to be the first who had cleared it.

Tomb 9C. (Part IV., Plate xxx.)

This is similar to the last, but the chamber within is no more than a slight enlargement of a natural fissure. The door is reached by a stairway; but no doubt, had the tomb been elaborated, this well would have been converted into an open approach by the removal of the rock-slope in front.

Tomb 12. Nekht-pa-aten. (Plate xiv.)[4]

This tomb, which was to have been of the same type as Tombs 10 and 13, has only had its façade and entrance completed. Inside there is a small area of floor, and the upper parts of three columns have been detached and remain as square pillars of rock. Though this was but a doorway to a projected tomb, the owner had laid claim to it; for those who excavated it found traces of three columns of hieroglyphs in ink on both jambs outside.[5] The first column probably contained an adoration of the Aten and of Royalty, the second the prayer, and the third the titles of the official. The second column on the left ended with  ; the third ended with  . This name can hardly be anything but

[1] The map in Part IV. (Plate xiii.) should be consulted for positions. Tombs 7 (Parennefer), 8 (Tutu), and 25 (Aÿ) will be described in Part VI. Plate xix. will give some idea of the character of the site.

[2] In consequence, the plan of the walls as given is taken three feet above lowest floor-level.

[3] Above AB it is an inset of plaster only. On the S. column the capital was made too short—a defect that was probably rectified by plaster, now fallen away from the neck.

[4] Having neglected to plan this tomb, I have given here the sketch plan of M. Gautier (*Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 81). The scale is $\frac{1}{200}$, not $\frac{1}{50}$ as marked.

[5] Daressy, *Recueil*, xv., p. 38. The same spelling, and the inscriptions after the first sign, are confirmed by Petrie from notes made six months later.

an erroneous writing for Nekht-pa-aten, though supported by the corresponding text on the right jamb No trace of this inscription now remains.

The owner of this unprepossessing sepulchre, then, was a man of the highest rank, an *erpa-* and *ha*-prince, chancellor, and vizier. It might be conjectured that he was a man of modest prospects, and, being suddenly ennobled on the downfall of Maÿ, astutely profited by that lesson and avoided ostentation, like Apy and Rames. Most probably these three officials were deprived of more stately tombs by the deplorable quality of the rock at this point.

Tomb 16. (Plates vi., vii., viii., xxiv.)[1]

Had this tomb been completed, it must have ranked as one of the finest rock-hewn burial-places in Egypt, and fortunately the great hall is sufficiently complete to allow the fancy to supply what is lacking. Unlike the rest of the tombs, it faces eastwards. The cornice of the outer portal is lacking, and the approach has never been completely hewn through the rock-slope. But as soon as one enters the hall, blank even of a graffito, but with walls as yet unstained and smooth,[2] its spaciousness and the grace of its slender columns make ample amends. One wonders at the feverish energy and courage which could, as if by a magic wand, change this spot in the vast dead wilderness of rock into a hall of subtle grace and mystery, and then, before the toil could well serve any purpose, hasten away to new enterprises, as far in motive as in distance from the world of busy life and human needs.

Columnar Hall.—The great hall is 53 feet long, 29 feet wide, 14 feet high. By setting the tomb low down, the architect gave thickness to the roof and could almost ignore its weight. He supported it, therefore, on twelve columns, which by their comparative slimness and free spacing are more than usually pleasing. Only the four columns of the central aisle (Plate xxiv.) and those of the south side of the first cross-aisle are in any measure carried out. The rest are in the state of incompleteness shown by two columns in the Section, Plate viii. (cf. Plate xxiv.). On the more finished columns the inserted bunches of stems are not separated below the capital, nor divided into three above it.[3] A capricious feature is the introduction of three ribs on each of the eight stems, thus dividing each stem into four, a feature which is carried a step further in Tombs 6, 25, 7c. The tablets are, as usual, so set as to face the visitor as he walks down the aisle. Each of the two rows of columns terminates in square pilasters, furnished with base (generally in a rough state), roll, cornice, and abacus.

Wall-decoration.—The breaking up of the extensive wall surfaces is one of the most pleasing elements of the architecture. The mode was suggested by the need for providing a shrine or shrines which the deceased, represented by his sitting statue, might occupy at his ease. These were set provisionally at each end of the first cross-aisle; then in succeeding aisles, if such were provided; and in the back wall of the main hall or of the further chamber. Each one was furnished with a corniced door-frame, and in lofty halls a superstructure, itself furnished with a cornice, was added above the door. Hence the wall at both ends of each aisle of this tomb is corniced, yet in different ways. In the nearest aisle the cornice is double; probably an entablature would have intervened. In the second there is a single cornice set lower down; no door, however, is yet hewn out. In the third the single cornice is at the roof, and the door was to be correspondingly raised and reached by a little flight of steps, protected by a low ramp. The door in the back wall also is adorned with a double cornice with intervening open-work, on the ink design of which latter a beginning has been made with the chisel.[4] This diversity of application of the same feature is both striking and successful, and it is still further exemplified in the case of the Southern Shrine (Plate vii., Section on AB). Here the lower cornice (which is separate and fixed in a rebate) is interrupted over the doorway and its place taken by a rectangular slab (?), the setting for which alone remains. Whether it was sculptured or inscribed, or indeed was ever supplied, cannot be determined.

Additional Chambers.—The two shrines in the first cross-aisle contain rough blocks of stone which were to be transformed into sitting statues. The room to which the West Door gave entrance is only just begun, but the work done indicates a low chamber with slim, thickly-clustered columns. Perhaps the tomb was needed hurriedly for burial; for the owner did not wait for the inner room to be completed, but excavated a long flight of steps in the south-west corner of the hall, which, turning completely on itself in its descent, ended in a small landing and an unfinished burial chamber, twenty-six feet below the floor of the hall.

Tomb 17. (Plate xii.)

This little tomb presents no interesting feature, except that, being apparently undisturbed, it showed sherds and pottery lying in a layer upon the original drift sand.[5]

[1] The heading of Chapter viii. of *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, which should have treated of this tomb, is the only part applicable to it, the appended plan and description being both borrowed from an entirely dissimilar tomb, No. 13.

[2] But this is not likely to last, unless the kindly sands again intervene to protect the tomb; for countless bats make a home in it.

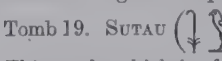
[3] They were divided, but the divisions were afterwards filled up with plaster.

[4] We shall meet with this decoration in the tomb of Tutu, which is of very similar type (Part VI., Pl. xiii.).

[5] The small pot with a foot and the saucers shown in Plate xliv. came from this tomb. The tall jar is said to have been found in the excavation of these tombs, having been preserved since then in the house of a guard. The fragments I picked up on the site. All the above seem

Tomb 18. (Plate xiii.)

This tomb is of the direct corridor type, like the tomb of Any; but the corridor is of the shortest. Yet simple as the hall is and neatly finished off above with a ridge-pole roof, the back part is still shapeless rock for a third of its height. So soon as a tomb was within measurable distance of completion, Akhenaten or his architects seem to have lost all interest in it. In this case the shrine which was to be excavated at the end of the corridor is little better than a hole. Nevertheless, as in so many other cases, an inscription was written on the left jamb of the outer door, and even cut for half its length. The lower half, with the name and titles of the deceased, is lost to us, but the rest (now injured by thieves) contains the opening of the salutations. A translation is given on p. 18.

Tomb 19. SUTAU  . (Plates xiv., xv.).

This tomb, which is of the same type as the last, but has a vaulted roof, is still more incomplete both without and within, and even the little *loculus* for burial high up in the south wall is probably a later provision. Yet so hopeless was the owner of seeing further progress made, that he prepared to commemorate himself and his king on the only finished wall-space in the entrance. Here on the left hand he caused the usual design, showing the Royal Family at worship, to be traced in ink; but this has now almost disappeared. Beneath this his own figure and his prayer were copied in thick black ink, and this has come down to us in a fragmentary state, preserving to us little more than his name, Sutau, Overseer of the Treasury (Plate xv.; translation on p. 17).

Tomb 20. (Plate xii.)

The approach to this tomb has not been carried through to the outer level, and this incompleteness foretells the state of the interior. The door-framing, however, is in order, and its lintel has received the only effort at decoration that was made (Plate xv.). Not that even this conventional design of the adoration of Aten by the Royal family was carried to a finish. The sculptor abandoned it, and by some caprice of his the figures of the Queen and her three daughters have been omitted on both sides.[1] The one princess who is visible is the Queen's sister Mutbenret; she seems to have been fan-bearer to the Queen, for she always carries a fan.

Inside, the cross-corridor has been roughly excavated, and measures have been taken for carrying the hall farther back, leaving a row of four columns in the centre. That the latter were projected is shown in addition by a rough sketch of a column in red ink on the west wall, 5 feet high.

Tomb 21. (Plates xvi., xxxv.)

Leaving the little bay of low rock where only unpretentious tombs were admissible, we come to a hall which, if unsightly, affords a unique architectural feature. There is, as usual, a rough approach through the rock-slope to a portal which is uninscribed, equally with the interior.[2] After the cross-corridor had been hewn and shrines with double-corniced portals set at the ends, the central aisle was run out and a single row of three columns arranged for and partly detached on either hand. (The greater part of the mass has been removed from behind them on the west side, but on the other a beginning only was made under the ceiling.) The square shape of the room, which allows a greater number of columns in the depth than in the width, is an innovation for the outer hall (cf. IV., xxxviii.). It is more surprising to find the longitudinal architrave arrested at the first column, and furnished with a cornice (Plate xxxv.). The effect is in itself pleasing, yet bewildering; for it can only give the suggestion of colonnades in an open court. This idea is supported by the provision of a cornice to the entrance on the inside, as if it were a gateway in an outer wall. It would certainly be permissible to regard this part of the funerary chapel as a colonnaded court with private rooms opening out of it; but it is more probable that the owner of Tomb 21 was struck with the novelty which his neighbour Any had provided in his corniced portico, and, without regarding its significance, adopted it as an internal feature of his tomb. The cornice is carried round to the side walls, where the architraves rest on pilasters of the usual type; but in the aisle it has not yet been completed past the second column on either side.

Tomb 22. (Plates xvi., xvii., xxxvi.)

This tomb is similar in external appearance to the last, but the interior conforms to the usual type of columnar hall. The shape is oblong, admitting two rows of four columns each. Of the first row only two are detached and given their approximate outline. The rest have only acquired their abaci or are still to be formed by the removal of the rock. The ground-plan shows little space cleared beyond the cross-corridor; but near the ceiling the central aisle is carried out to its limit, and there the cornice of a door gives promise of a further room or shrine in the axis.

A fragment of the design has been carried out on the lintel of the façade, and shows the King, Queen, and three daughters worshipping Aten, and the Queen's sister in attendance (Plate xvi.).

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to be of Eighteenth Dynasty types, but the heaps of sherds outside the chief tombs appear to be chiefly of quite late forms. These, I suppose, were thrown out by the excavators, and were already broken for the most part. Professor Petrie, in a note, describes Tomb 16 as containing "burials in palm-sticks, coffins, etc.," and this was also the case doubtless in the other tombs. Most of these remains were destroyed, I believe, by the excavators; but some probably were taken to Cairo, and may yet be identified and dated.

[1] Perhaps three sculptors were engaged on the scene simultaneously.

[2] The visitor will seek in vain for the figure and text assigned to this tomb in *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 60. Both come from the tomb of Huya at Et Tîl (III., xxxvii.).

Tomb 24. PA-ATEN-EM-HEB (Plate xiii.).

This is only the entrance to a tomb, for it has progressed no further. Even the approach has not been hewn out, so that one descends to it by rough steps. It is now destitute of any record; but, when first excavated, the ends of the columns of inscription, written in ink on the jambs, were visible and furnished us with the name of the too sanguine owner. He was named Pa-aten-em-heb, and was a Royal Scribe, Overseer of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands, Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Overseer of porters in Akhetaten.[1]

Tomb 24A. (Plate xviii.)

This again is only an entrance to a tomb and is without inscription.

[1] The authorities for the inscription are DARESSY, *Recueil*, XV., p. 45, BOURIANT, *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 47, and notes by PETRIE. I have bungled my sketch, and the title given by M. Daressy in the second column of each jamb should certainly be accepted. The inscription was sculptured, according to Petrie. The last title is likely to be a misreading for "Overseer of works," but compare III., pp. 8, 9.

Tomb 25A. (Plate xiv.)

This tiny chamber was excavated in 1883, and those who saw it in earlier years report traces of illegible inscription on the jambs. The name, however, though written in ink only on the right jamb at the end of four columns of lost inscription, is still almost legible.[2] On the right jamb the upper parts of four columns of the praises of Aten are partially preserved. (1) "Life to the divine and sovereign Father, Horakhti-Aten, who gives life for ever and ever, the living and great Aten within the *sed*-festival. . . . . ." (2) ". . . . . the Aten (?) Lord of Existence, the Lord who brings Eternity, Lord of Everlasting, who flourishes . . . ."

(4) "Praise to thee, O living Aten who illuminest heaven (?) with thy rays (?) . . . . ."

On the lintel, and on a fragment fallen from it, is found part of the usual scene. The King, Queen, and three princesses were adoring Aten from behind altar-stands. I did not clear the chamber anew.

[2] It seems to read or something similar.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS TEXTS.

As before, I divide these prayers into two classes —those placed in the mouth of the deceased, and those prayers of the *dy hetep seten* type displayed on the door-jambs or the ceiling in short formulas, with a view to convenient recitation by visitors for the benefit of the spirit.

A. Prayers by the Deceased.

1. Maÿ. North Thickness. (Plate ii.)

Previous notices are: Daressy, *Recueil*, xv., pp. 38–9; *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxxiii.; a translation by Breasted from his own copy, *Records*, ii., p. 412.

"An adoration of Horakhti-Aten, who gives life for ever and ever, (of the) King of South and North, who lives in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., (2) the Son of the Sun, who lives in Truth, Lord of Diadems, A., great in his duration, (and of the) chief wife of the King, whom he loves, Lady of the Two Lands, rich in love, N., who lives for ever and ever.

(3) "Thy rising is beautiful on the horizon of heaven, O living Aten, who dispensest life! Shining on the eastern horizon of heaven, thou fillest the Two Lands with thy beauty. Thou art bright, great, gleaming, high above all the earth. As for thy rays, they (4) embrace (all?) the lands, to the extent of all that thou hast made. Thou art as the sun; thou bringest their sum[1] and subjectest them to thy beloved Son.

"Thy rays are on thy bright image, the Ruler of Truth who proceeded from eternity. (5) Thou givest to him thy duration and thy years; thou hearkenest for him to all that is in his heart (because) thou lovest him; thou makest him like the Aten—him thy child, the King of South and North, N., who proceeded from thy rays. He has made for thee Akhetaten, (a city) very rich (6) in love, possessing favour, abounding in wealth, within which is the bounty of the sun. Men rejoice to see her beauty. She is adorned and comely; she is seen as a glimpse into heaven. Her extent is not compassed; the Aten dawns in her and fills her with his rays.

(7) "(So also) he ("his heart"?) embraces his Son, his beloved, a Son of Eternity, who proceeds from Aten, and (who) administers the land for Him who set him on His throne, and makes the land belong to Him who made him. Every land makes festival at his rising. They assemble, making offerings to his *ka*, to the Aten when he rises on the horizon each morning.

(8) "(When) his son presents Truth[2] to thy fair face, there is rejoicing. Thou lookest on him, for he proceeded from thee and thou hast granted to him (to be) a King like the Aten, (he) Nefer-kheperu-ra-Ua-en-ra. May there be life and health such as the Aten (has)!

"The hereditary *erpa*-prince and *ha*-prince, Royal Chancellor and Sole Companion, (9) . . . , acting Scribe of the King, beloved of him, Commandant of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands, Overseer of the House of Sehetep-Aten,[3] [Maÿ].

"He saith 'I (am) a servant of him who fostered him, punctilious for the Lord of the Two Lands, serviceable to his lord. I set truth in my inward parts; falsehood is my loathing, (10) for I know that the Son of the Aten, N., rejoiceth at it. He multiplies towards me my favours like the number of the sand-grains. I am the first of the elders, the chief of the *Rekhyt*. (11) My lord promotes me because I do his teaching. I hearken to his voice unceasingly; my eyes see thy beauty day by day—my lord, sapient like Aten, contented with truth!

"How prosperous is (12) he who hearkens to thy teaching of Life. May he be made content by the sight of thee and reach old age!

"Do thou give to me fair burial as a gift of thy bounty in the tomb which thou commandest for me to repose there (in) the cliff of Akhetaten, (13) the seat of the elect. O thou multitude of Niles, pouring forth waters daily, N., my god, who created me and by whose bounty I live!

"Thou causest me to be content in following thee unceasingly. (14) O thou whom Aten bare, thou art to Eternity! O thou multitude of prayers (?), Ua-en-ra, how he (?) prospers who follows thee! (15) Thou shalt grant to him that all that he doeth abide eternally. (16) Then shall his lord give him (?) burial (17); (for) his mouth holds truth."

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[1] Alliteration of 'sun' (*Ra*) with 'sum' (*ra*).

[2] Or "offerings." But the spiritual oblation seems to have been typified by a votive tablet (IV., p. 19), so that the reference may be to this.

[3] Probably the residence of some member of the Royal family. See note, p. 5.

2. Sutau. North Thickness (Plate xv.).

Previous copy: *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxx.[1]

". . . . . (9) . . . . . Ua-en-ra . . . . (10) . . . . . serviceable to the Father (?). Do thou grant to me (?) my eyes to see thee (11) . . . . . those who hear thy voice (?), the King of the South and North, who lives in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., (12) Son of the Sun, A., [great in his duration,] and the chief wife of the King, whom he loves, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever.

(13) "The Overseer of the Treasury, [Sutau, says] . . . . my lord (?), who made me into a man. Thou fosterest me (14) by thy bounty, though I was of no account, [enlarging (?)] me and building me up, O Ruler! Thou settest me (15) at the head of the . . . . . daily with workmen . . . . . exceedingly [numerous (?)],[2] (16) saying unto me: 'Do (?) . . . . . so that (when) I call to one of ten, answer (thou) at (17) the order.' O Ruler . . . . . production (?). Thou madest me Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, Servant of Him-who-is-great-in-his-duration, (18) the King's [Keeper (?)] (19) of silver, gold, unguents, (20) oils, gums, (21) . . . . . (22) a courageous man (?), thy favourite handservant (?), the Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, Sutau."

3. Any. Left Door Jamb. (Plate xi.)

Previous copy of the Jambs: *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxvii.

"Praise to thee, O living Aten, lord of rays, Creator of light. When he dawns all men live. May he grant a life happy with the sight of his beauty, and good burial in Akhetaten.

"For the *ka* of the Scribe of the King, the Steward Any, *maakheru*."

4. Any. Right Door Jamb. (Plate xi.)

"Praise to thee, O living Aten, lord of duration, who givest repetition (of Life), lord of Fate, who fosterest . . . . . May he grant a sight of Aten as often as he rises, and that thou adore him. May he listen to what thou sayest and give thee breezes to thy nostril.[3]

"For the *ka* of the Scribe of the King, the Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Steward Any, *maakheru*."

5. Any. Shrine. Left Wall. (Plate ix.)

"Mayest thou receive offerings[4] [of the King's gift (?)] . . . . . [at] every shrine of thine, that thy name may flourish [in the abode] which thou lovest (?). May each generation that is to come (?) [address thee]. May thy name not be to seek [in thy house], since thou art a son [to whom is made (?)][5] a *dy hetep seten* of thy bread and thy beer of thy [house], wine of the house (?) which has been offered in the Presence and [water] from thy sluice (?).

"The servant and agent of the Royal Scribe Any, *maakheru*, Meryra."

6. Any. Shrine. Right wall. (Plate x.)

". . . . . since thou art one of . . . . . the King has ordered (?) for thee goodly burial (in) the cliff of Akhetaten, [and a mansion of] eternity (?) in which thou art, thy shrine for thy *ka*.

". . . . . the servant and 'agent[6] of the Royal Scribe Any, *maakheru*, Meryra."

B. Burial Petitions.

1. Maỹ. Left Jamb. (Plate iv.)

Previous copies of both jambs: *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, Pl. xxxi.; Daressy, *Recueil*, xv., p. 41.

Col. 1. [Adoration of Horakhti-Aten, the King and Queen.]

Col. 2. "[A *dy hetep seten* of the Aten, living and great,] dwelling in the *sed*-festival, Lord of heaven and earth, who illuminates the Two Lands. May he grant that I see his beauty day by day and that his rays be spread upon my body.

"For the *ka* of one who greatly gratifies his lord; one to whom all manner of words are said that he may lay them before the Lord of the Two Lands; Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the King, Acting Scribe of the King, beloved by him, Maỹ, *maakheru*."

Col. 3. "[A *dy hetep seten* of the *ka* of the King, living in Truth], Lord of the Two Lands, N., who gives life for ever.

"May he grant good burial by command of his *ka* in the demesne of Akhetaten.

"For the *ka* of the unique one, excellent in the presence of the Lord of the Two Lands, one who fills the ears of Horus with Truth, the Overseer of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands, Acting Scribe, etc."

Col. 4. "[A *dy hetep seten* of the *ka* of the King, who lives in Truth, Lord of Diadems, A.], great in his duration.

"May he grant ingress and exit in the King's house, with favour of the good god, until the coming of the goodly guerdon.

"For the *ka* of him whom the King promoted for his excellent achievements, whose success made his position, the Overseer of the House of Sehetep-Aten, the Acting Scribe, etc."

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[1] Cf. Daressy, *Recueil*, xv., p. 50.

[2] may be conjectured.

[3] is omitted in the plate. See *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 52.

[4] Emend to . Compare III., xx., a very similar prayer, by help of which we are able to elicit the meaning of this fragmentary text.

[5] Or "in which thou art. May there be made for thee" (cf. Plate x.).

[6] Read .

Col. 5. "[A *dy hetep seten* of the Chief Wife of the King,] whom he loves, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, living for ever and ever.

"May she grant her favour firm and fixed and that the body be provided with joy of her giving.

"For the *ka* of the attendant of the King in his splendid barge, he who is sent after the Lord of the Two Lands, Overseer of all the works of the King, the Acting Scribe, etc."

2. Maÿ. Right Jamb. (Plate iv.)

Col. 1. This column and the opening phrases of the others are as on the left jamb.

Col. 2. "May he grant a sluice of water and a scent of wind, a reception of favour[1] in the presence of the Lord of the Two Lands.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, one advanced in office in the King's house, Bearer of the Fan, etc."

Col. 3. "May he grant life, prosperity and health, and readiness in the presence of the Lord of the Two Lands, and a life happy with the sight of the beauty of each (recurring) sun[2] without intermission.

"For the *ka* of one great in his office, high in his rank, a noble by whom the heart is gratified, Overseer of the soldiery, etc."

Col. 4. "May he grant happy recollection (of him) in the King's house and continuance in the mouth of his courtiers.

"For the *ka* of the unique one, approved in the heart of his lord, one whom he recognised as doing serviceably, Overseer of the House of Ua-en-ra in On, [Acting Scribe, etc.]"

[1] The sculptor began to write *snw*, "a reception of food from the Presence," and corrected it to *ḫsw*.

[2] Or, perhaps, "his beauty every day."

Col. 5. "May she grant an entrance of favour and an exit of love, and gladness of heart in Akhetaten.

"For the *ka* of one who was a favourite of the King of the South when he was a youth and who (now) has reached the goodly guerdon, the Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the King, [the Acting Scribe, etc.]"

3. Maÿ. Ceiling Inscription. (Plate ii.)

Middle Column. "An adoration of thee (?) when thou dawnest on the horizon, O Aten, Horus (?) of the two horizons (Horakhti). Let there be no failure to see Ra; open thy two eyes to see him; may thy corpse be firm and thy name established . . . . . ."

North Column. ". . . . . For the *ka* of the Overseer of [works] in all [the land], Overseer of the soldiery (?) of the Lord of the Two Lands (?), Maÿ."

4. Tomb 18. Left Jamb. (Plate xiii.)

Copy by Bouriant, *Mission Française*, i., p. 368.[3]

Col. 1. "Life to the Divine and Sovereign Father, Horakhti-Aten . . . ."

Col. 2. "Praise to thy[4] *ka*, O living Aten, according to that which thy son says to thee; he who proceeded from thy body, thy child who knows thee and extols thee . . . ."

Col. 3. "Praise to thy *ka*, O Ruler of Truth who (art) eternal like Aten, thriving and living and conducting[5] things to which the living Aten has given birth . . . ."

Col. 4. "Praise to thy *ka*, O great royal wife of Ua-en-ra, tall in the plumes and gleaming in apparel (?), charming of voice in the palace . . . ."

[3] The text, which was never completely engraved, now lacks also the upper part.

[4] Read with Bouriant. The plate has followed an erroneous reproduction of Bouriant's copy in *Mon. du Culte d'Atonou*, p. 129.

[5] I follow Bouriant, who read before the inscription was damaged.

CHAPTER V.

THE BOUNDARY STELAE.

A. Their Distribution.

The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten lie in the semi-circle of hills which surround the plain of El Amarna on the east side of the river and in the hills facing this on the west (Plate xxxiv.). Fourteen are now known; three (A, B, F)[1] being on the west side and eleven on the east.[2] The three stelae on the western mountains seem to be the northernmost, midmost and southernmost on this side, where the extent of cliff suitable for such monuments is very limited. Probably no more were hewn there. Of those on the east side we seem to possess the most northerly in X; for it lies beyond the plain at a point where two narrow tracks into the plain diverge, one keeping to the river-bank, the other traversing the mountains. Its position on the spur of the hills is accurately described in the phrase "the headland of the Northern Stela" (X, line 42). A line joining A and X represents, then, the north boundary of the district of Akhetaten; it faces several degrees east of magnetic north, perhaps the true north of that day.[3] A parallel line, however, drawn from F, southernmost on the west side, does not pass through J, the southernmost on the east bank of the river, but almost exactly through P, which lies further south in the desert road behind the mountains. A parallel line through B passes through V, an obliterated stela near the mouth of the defile through which the mountain-path from X enters the plain.[4] These stelae, then—A, B, F and X, V, J (or P)—seem to represent the six landmarks (northern, southern and middle, on both banks) mentioned in the text (p. 34).

Three of the stelae on the east bank date from an earlier year and contain a special text, viz., X (the northernmost), M (at the southern limit of the plain), and K (a few hundred yards south of M, on the river road, where every vestige of cultivation now ends for many miles). K (first series) and J (second series) seem to represent a wish to include in the district of Akhetaten some length of the approach to Akhetaten by the river bank, so balancing X exactly.[5]

The rest of the known stelae are distributed unequally and their sites are fixed with more or less obvious intentions. J, if not already fixed on the river bank as the Southern Stela, was needed to make known the later form of the proclamation to travellers entering Akhetaten by this route: P, Q, R, S draw a chain of

[1] I adopt the lettering initiated by Professor Petrie (*Tell el Amarna*, pp. 5, 6, Plate xxxiv.), who by his indefatigable energy in this district in 1891–2 added so much to our knowledge, and, by the interest which he excited, became in no small measure responsible for the present series of volumes. His unpublished materials also have always been unreservedly put at the disposal of other workers, and I shall have to acknowledge my indebtedness to him in several instances.

[2] I cannot admit that L should be included. It is a little tablet, about 5 feet by 3 feet, retaining only a trace of inscription, and having no resemblance to the other monuments. It may not even be of this period.

[3] In these discussions of position I am entirely dependent on Prof. Petrie's map.

[4] It would have been at the mouth, no doubt, but for the desire to place it exactly opposite (east of) B.

[5] X and M seem then to have been the first stelae to be fixed, K soon after replacing M as the South Stela. Later, P was made on the mountain-road, and from X and P (or J) the positions of A and F were determined on the western mountain. The site of B was fixed on because no such bold cliff offers itself further to the south on this side. From it the position of V was taken.

information across the wide valley in which the mountain roads from the south run: N lies in the middle of the mountain-wall south of the plain, U similarly on the east, near the entrance to the ravine where the Royal tomb is hewn and which is also a back-way into Akhetaten.

The eleven later stelae contain the same proclamation, and as the copies differ only in spelling and in the addition or omission of unimportant phrases, the text is now completely restored by collation (Plates xxvii., xxviii.). The stelae A and B on the western bank make an addition at the end of the usual text (Plate xxxiii.).

It is possible that a few more stelae have perished or remain to be discovered; but, as the limits seem now to have been found, only a copy of the earlier and sadly-injured proclamation could add much to our knowledge.[1]

B. Their History and Contents.

When Akhenaten (or Amenhetep-neter-heqa-Uast, as the orthodox knew him) came to El Amarna (probably in the second year of his reign), having decided to found a new capital here which should at least prove a counterpoise to Thebes[2] and form a soil where the worship of Aten could flourish in purity, uncontaminated by older traditions and without being overshadowed by a more imposing cult, he must have set about his project with enormous energy and initiative. Apparently he did not wait for the completion of his designs, but planned out a whole series of temples, palaces, and tombs in advance, carrying out their most essential features to begin with. It may be that even at the end of his reign the great temple lagged far behind the pictures of it which the tombs display, and we have already seen the feverish haste in which sepulchral halls were laid out and then abandoned because the workmen were needed to push forward other schemes. The same procedure probably governed the foundation of Akhetaten, for we find that at the end of the King's fourth year[3] he could describe Akhetaten as containing numerous temples, palaces, and royal and private tombs.[4]

On the 4th day[5] of the 8th month of the 4th year the King made a public appearance and held a great ceremony of dedication, but neither the place of the ceremonial nor the exact scope of it is now clear. If it was not the ceremony of dedicating Akhetaten itself as well as of officially marking its boundaries, it probably took place on the anniversary of that event.

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[1] I have personally visited and made notes of, or completely copied, all of them, according to their importance, except Stela F. This is almost or completely sanded up, and, in spite of the kind assistance afforded me by M. Lefebvre and his officials, could not be found by the native guards. This, combined with the inhospitality of this remote spot, drove me back on two occasions, after making planned efforts to reach it. Fortunately, Professor Petrie copied all that remains of it, and as my visit could have added but little to the information he gives, I am almost glad that this stela must remain to his credit alone, since no one can appreciate the fatigue involved in beating the bounds of Akhetaten but he who has essayed it.

[2] We have not sufficient material at present to enable us to form any just idea of the position Thebes took during this reign.

[3] Professor Petrie's story of the reign is largely governed by the rejection of this date of the early stelae, which, though not absolutely certain, is vouched for by the presence of one daughter only, by the peculiar form of the Queen's name, and by the contents, which show plainly that, at that time, only the Stelae K, X (or M, X) were projected. Moreover, the date "Year 4" occurs again in the body of the text, though, unfortunately, in a dubious connection (l. 20). The oil- and wine-jars dated to the second and third years, therefore, may not need to be assigned to Akhenaten's successor (Griffith, in Petrie's *T. A.*, p. 32). If Akhenaten by the fourth year had definitely abandoned his old name, the adoption of the new titulary would in itself be a sufficient reason for the erection of these three stelae.

[4] I take the wording of the proclamation (K, col. xi.) to refer to projects already taken in hand, even if their full completion was still a thing of the future. If the King was a mere boy, this and much else must be reconsidered.

[5] It may well be "the 13th day," and so allow the ceremony which the later stelae describe to have taken place on the second anniversary of the first. The procedure on both occasions was so similar that the earlier phraseology could be closely followed.

After a great sacrifice had been made (in the city?), the King proceeded to the site of one or all of the stelae. There he assembled the dignitaries of the land and recounted to them how that he had founded Akhetaten in this spot in obedience to a divine message which had come to him personally. Aten had chosen this place for his worship without a rival, and the Royal pair were to reign for him over the whole of Greater Egypt; for the Aten was god also of all the known lands. Then the King, lifting his hand to heaven, made a solemn vow that he would not remove Akhetaten from the exact bounds marked out by the stelae on the north and south of the chosen district, and that the city would be confined to the east bank of the river. By settling in this formal way the limits of the new enclave on which the duty of supporting the worship of Aten in Akhetaten was to fall, the legal burdens on the land were fixed and security given to tenure. The proclamation informs us also what had been accomplished or undertaken by the King. The list includes at least five temples built to Aten in the city of Akhetaten or on its island, palaces for himself and his Queen, a Royal tomb which he commands shall be the burial-place of himself, his wife, and his daughter, wherever they may chance to die,[1] and sepulchres for the Mnevis-bull (the incarnation of Ra of Heliopolis),[2] for the high-priests of Aten[3] and the "Divine Fathers" of Aten, and for other officiants (?). Then, in a few words, we have what seems to be a brief relation of the evils which had led to the religious reformation. So little is known of Akhenaten's activity in Nubia beyond what the ruins of the temples of Sedeinga, Soleb, and Sesebe disclose, that we must regret the loss of the connection in which the land of Kush is mentioned (K, line 25). The proclamation closes with regulations for the festivals of the Aten and for the upkeep of the temples by dues. This recital, comprising the royal oath and decree, were engraved on the three boundary-tablets K, X and M; but before the task was quite completed (probably well on in the 5th year) Meketaten had been born to the King, and her figure was inserted on the Southern Stela, K.

On or about the second anniversary of this proclamation another oath was taken in public by the King.[4] The limits of the district of Akhetaten had now been marked out, not only on the river, but also on the desert sides. Six (additional?) stelae were to be engraved, giving the side-boundaries of Akhetaten in new and more exact terms: one to north, one to south, and one between these on the mountain ranges on both sides of the river.

From the description given (S, line 9) it would seem that the King made his oath at the site of the Stela J.[5] Afterwards he seems to have visited the Northern and Middle Stelae on the east side (S, lines 14, 16, 17).

On the given date—6th year, 8th month,

[1] The tomb in the ravine where Meketaten was buried is therefore almost certainly the tomb which the King intended to be the resting-place of himself and his family. The early death of his daughter may have rendered an alteration of the original plan advisable. But the presumption is that the King also died suddenly, and was buried here. It would be no wonder if, under the circumstances, the walls failed to be suitably inscribed.

[2] This interesting and surprising reading, which I could wish were a little more assured, I owe to the Editor.

[3] The tomb of Meryra, in the N. group, is the only one known to come under this head, and its decoration at least seems to be of a later date, though it may have been projected from the first, or have replaced an uninscribed tomb in the S. group. Aÿ was not a "Divine Father" *of Aten*.

[4] See note 5 on page 20.

[5] "South-east" can mean in the stela the southern point on the east side (cf. S, line 16, where "the NE. tablet" must mean X). The King "makes southward," so probably J is meant. As on the east side the hills closed in on the river on the north and south, there were no true NE. and SE. Stelae till V and S were hewn at similar distances from the south and north boundaries respectively. Stela S is due south-east from the city, so that P or S might be indicated by the phrase, but P is almost inaccessible by chariot. The roads which are still to be seen leading up to several of the stelae were probably made for the King's visit.

13th day—the King, after a great sacrifice to Aten in the city, as on the former occasion, drove southwards in his chariot, and "on the south-east mountain of Akhetaten" made a proclamation defining the boundaries of Akhetaten more precisely by means of the six stelae, and swore that he would never overstep them or suffer them to fall into decay.[1] The district (of which he gave the exact length) he declared to belong to the Aten, with all its inhabitants, animals and products, for ever and ever, from the eastern hills to the western.

Probably the work of engraving these landmarks had not been begun at this time, and while it was in progress an increase in their numbers was resolved on. In consequence the eleven or more stelae were not ready till the beginning of the 8th year.[2] By that time a new asseveration of the oath had been arranged for, probably in connection with the dedication of the additional stelae, for the ceremonial seems this time to have taken place on the south-east boundary (S, line 26), where three or four new stelae had been set up (P, Q, R, S). This was in the 8th year, 5th month, 8th day, and the western stelae seem to have been visited a few days earlier (4th month, last day). The proceedings perhaps took place on some anniversary or festival, and were fixed long in advance, so that the record of them could be added beforehand to the rest of the inscription.[3] On the eastern stelae (and also on F)[4] it took a simple form: "This oath was repeated in the year . . . ." On A and B, however, the brief summary in which the substance of the previous oath had been repeated was appended to it.

Before this longer text could be engraved, Akhenaten's third daughter had been born, and her name and figure were accordingly added at the side of the "altars" of these two stelae.[5]

C. Description of the Stelae.

These monuments are of an almost invariable form, of which Plate xxvi. gives an excellent example. They are rounded at the top, and the sky from which Aten sends his divergent rays on the altar and on the royal pair is correspondingly arched. The upper part is occupied by a scene showing the King, Queen, and two princesses adoring Aten, the former generally having their arms outstretched from the shoulder, while the princesses carry sistrums. Part of this division, however, is often taken up by the beginning of the inscription, arranged in vertical columns, the rest of it being written on the lower part of the stela in horizontal lines in either direction.

In the scene above, the titulary of the sun, of the royal pair, and of the princesses, is added in columns. There is generally an altar-table of common form, the two or three panels of which are decorated with the five cartouches. The

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[1] This must not be too strictly interpreted. J was pushed some hundreds of yards south of K, and the Royal Tomb lies beyond the boundary eastwards.

[2] In consequence of the heavy work entailed on quarriers and sculptors, little or no work could be done upon the tombs. For this reason no tomb shows two daughters, and perhaps all in the S. group are later than the stelae.

[3] On every stela the oath and the record of its renewal run on in the same line, and, so far as I can see, without sign of erasure, though V, P, J, the stelae most concerned, have lost the part in question. It seems, therefore, that the whole was cut on all at one time. The engraver of B also knew the form prescribed for the addition; but, wishing to give the new oath at length, he changed it to a retrospective note—"The oath was in the 6th year . . . "—and then added the new oath thus: "8th year, 4th month, last day—the oath which the King spake when fixing the stelae of Akhetaten. . . ." But he gives a different date in the 6th year from that which is unanimously given for the later proclamation, even by A, which presumably followed B in ending.

[4] F, which does not share the peculiarities of A and B, seems to be earlier; since it gives a date (according to Petrie) for the (forthcoming?) ceremonial on the east side which proved four months too soon.

[5] The three dedications, then, seem to have briefly preceded the birth of three successive children. Did this domestic King invite the favour of Aten, who "makes the son to live in the body of his mother, nursing him in the body," by these gifts and engagements?

table is piled with jars, meats, birds, vegetables, flowers, and dishes of burning incense, and often has a back like that of a chair at one end, and at the other a kneeling figure holding a dish filled with a cone of food (?). The altar, or one of the two duplicated royal groups, is often replaced by the columns of text.

The King and Queen are clothed in garments of the usual form. The King usually wears the *khepersh* head-dress, the Queen the two feathers with horned disc. The bodies are given their most exaggerated forms, and the faces their most repulsive outlines, on these stelae of the early years of the reign. Indeed, these worst distortions are almost limited to stelae, trial-pieces, etc.

The stelae of the later series, unlike the earlier, are almost invariably flanked on both sides with groups of statuary of a special character. They are formed in the following way. The King and Queen stand side by side in a combined group, the King being on the side nearer the stela; he is somewhat stouter in build than she, but the forms do not greatly differ. It is, however, only in A and S, where the stone is of good quality, that the statuary is sufficiently well preserved to inform us on points of detail, and here the moulding of the body is exquisitely soft and delicate, despite the exaggerated dimensions of the hips and thighs (Plates xxxiv., xxxix., xl., xliv.). The bodies seem usually to be nude, or nearly so. The King wears either the *khepersh* or the crown of Lower Egypt, the Queen her flat head-dress or a cap; but the heads or faces have, in every case, been broken away.[1] The figures always have their arms outstretched either from the shoulder or from the elbow (generally there is one group of each form), and each grasps the upper rim of a narrow vertical tablet inscribed with the names of the Aten and the royal pair.[2] As these are joined together and to the statues in a solid mass (concealing the figures for rather more than half their breadth, and so obviating the need of drapery), they resemble altars, but really show the King and Queen "upholding the name of Aten."[3] The tablet is sometimes upright, sometimes leaning outwards at the top, as if to be read the better. The heads and figures are joined to the cliff by a stay of rock.

The statues of the little princesses are always two in number. The girls are nude, and wear an enormous side-lock. They hold one another's hands, and with her free arm Merytaten reaches out to touch her mother. These figures are set on a base, and against an arched back, as if they were a free-standing group (Plate xliv.).

Stela A (Plates xli., xliii.) lies three miles to the south of Tuneh-el-Gebel, on the face of the western hills. It is 14 feet high and 7 feet 6 inches broad, with eight columns of text and twenty-five horizontal lines. The former are in fair preservation (Pl. xxxiii.); the latter seem to have been systematically battered, but the first six and last six lines and the ends of the rest are fairly legible. The lower lines are rapidly decaying. The writing is from left to right. The upper scene shows vertical lines of text on the left, and on the right the King and Queen adoring Aten behind a table of offerings. Merytaten and Meketaten shake sistrums behind her.[4] The horizontal ram's horns are added to the disc in the Queen's head-dress.

On the south side of the stela are two groups

[1] As the fragments were left where they fell, they are sometimes to be recovered from the sands. See below (N and Q). The heads of the statues were often separate, and attached to the rock by an inset.

[2] The tablets have rounded tops in Q (detached fragment).

[3] In the case of S the lower altar holds the names of the god and the King; the higher one adds that of the Queen. Probably this is the explanation of the two models.

[4] Their names are totally misread by Prisse, *Mon. Ég.*, Pl. xiv. Drawn by Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fols. 32–34; the first is reproduced in Plate xliii. by kind permission of the Director of the British Museum. Sketched also by L'Hôte, *Lettres Écrites*, pp. 59, 131, and *MSS.*, III., 303–306.

of statuary, one of each model (Plates xxxiv., xxxvi.). On both the figures are draped. The King wears a broad girdle with falling ends, and the clinging drapery of the Queen is delicately indicated on her body and limbs. The fringed upper hem of her robe is seen crossing above and between her breasts, and its folds are gathered together in a knot below them. It is open in front, but a narrow sash knotted on the navel seems to indicate an under-garment. The upper arms and the breast of both figures are adorned with cartouches of the Aten. It is peculiar to A and B that, though only two daughters are shown in statuary, the figure and name of Ankhes-en-pa-aten were added to those of the other two on one side of the north "altar," showing that she was born before the completion of the work. The names are in the invariable form (cf. L., *D.*, iii., 91*a–f*).

Stela B.—This lies about two miles to the south of Stela A, but halfway between them a rock face has been cut, which may have been the preparation for another stela. It is more likely that it is only a quarry, perhaps even of Roman date.[1] By the side of it forty-one steps, 7 feet broad, making use of a natural gully, ascend to the top of the low cliff, where signs of surface quarrying are frequent. A few steps lead from the foot of this to the quarried face, which is 14 feet high and 35 feet long.

Stela B is about the same size as the last, and in much the same condition. There are seven or eight vertical columns of inscription, and twenty-seven horizontal lines. Columns 1–4 are nearly illegible and line 27 entirely so, while the whole has been very badly defaced by hammering. The scene above shows the King, the Queen, and two daughters lifting hands in adoration of Aten on either side of the columned text. The figures on the left are almost destroyed. The initial date is also gone. On both sides of the stelae are groups of the royal pair and their two daughters. Three daughters are shown and named on the side of the south "altar."

Stela F.—According to Professor Petrie, this stela is "on a low scarp of rock in the middle of a wide bay of desert" south of Gildeh, and is usually buried in sand. The scene is gone, as well as the first five discernible horizontal lines. There are nine more lines, 49 inches long, the last seven being fairly complete. The inscription is so short that it would not even contain the royal oath.[2] I think, therefore, that either there was no upper scene at all and that the remaining forty-one inches under the disc were entirely occupied by inscription, or that the top of the stela is quite gone. The text runs from right to left.

Stela J.—This is situated high up on the north side of the first ravine entering the hills which rise from the western river-bank, south of the village of Hawata. It lies a few hundred yards to the south of Stela K.

The stela is in great ruin (Plate xxxvi.) apparently from natural causes, the lower part of the rock here being now a rough cave. The stone was bad to begin with, having to be extensively patched by the engravers with insets which now have fallen out. The eight columns of inscription are in very bad condition, the date being indecipherable. The eight horizontal lines, 75 inches broad, which remain, show many gaps.[3] The scene above is on the right of the columns of text and shows the King, Queen, and two princesses[4] adoring Aten with outstretched arms, behind an offering-table. The text is written from left to right. The cliff is smoothed down on the left of the stela to receive statues; but, though their place is visible, they have perished.

Stela K (Plates xxix., xxx., xxxvii.,

[1] This must be the spot which M. Daressy erroneously describes (*Recueil*, xv., p. 61, no. 7).

[2] Line 8 begins near the end of line 21 of Stela S.

[3] The text extends to the end of line 16 of Stela S. The negative was kindly furnished by Professor Steindorff.

[4] The upper one is gone; the lower is named Meketaten.

xxxviii.).—This monument is cut in the high cliff to the north of Stela J. It is 70 inches broad, and the horizontal lines, which I reckon to have been eighty in number, measure eleven feet in height.[1] There were, besides, twenty-one vertical columns. This magnificent monument is ruined by natural decay, the lower two-thirds being almost useless. It contains the earlier text, written from left to right. The scene above[2] shows the King adoring the Aten on the right of the vertical columns. Behind him, his wife and his daughter Merytaten rattle sistrums (the Queen's name both above and in front of her is written simply). This leaves no room for further figures; but the border has been erased and, a little space having been smoothed at the side, a tiny figure of Meketaten, accompanied by an attendant,[3] has been rudely inserted, and her name added in a column near her sister's. This might represent a miscalculation by the sculptor, but is probably an addition implying the birth of a second daughter after the scene was executed. There are no statues.

Stela M.—About 18 feet high (13 feet of inscription possible) and 6 feet broad. The stela is almost obliterated, but fragments of the first eleven lines can be read, written from left to right. These belong to the earlier proclamation. The scene seems to have shown King, Queen and possibly one or two daughters adoring Aten to the right of several columns of text. There are no statues. The stela is only a few hundred yards north of K, and lies at the turn of the mountain, just behind a sheikh's tomb. It is set deep in a hewn recess.

Stela N (Plates xxxiii., xl.).—About halfway along the southern boundary of the plain, just under the summit. It is 82 inches broad and 13 feet high, half of the height being occupied by twenty-six horizontal lines of text reading from left to right. What is left of this is in good condition, but the upper half is largely lost by the falling away or theft of patching-stones. The date is lost. The scene shows two daughters.[4] Steindorff cleared the lower part in 1898 and found heads of the King and Queen (replaced in Plate xl.).[5]

To right and left of the stela, and sheltered by the overhang of the rock, are combined statues of the King and Queen and of the two princesses. The group on the right hand (west) is smaller. The arms of the larger group bend upwards from the elbow. The character of the group of children will best be learnt from the photograph (Pl. xliv.).[6]

Stela P.—This is the westernmost of four stelae which are set in a straight line (59°) across the great valley which leads southwards from the SE. corner of the plain. This contains two *khors*, one on the west side of the valley and one on the east. P is placed on the west mountain-side, Q in the west *khor*, R in the east *khor*, S on the east mountain-side. Stela P was blown to pieces by gunpowder a few years ago by Copts, who expected, as all Egyptians do, to find that the stela was a door to a hidden treasure-chamber.[7] It was 70 inches broad

[1] From the top of line 40 to the end of the inscription is 66 inches. The negative of the photograph on Plate xxxvii. was kindly furnished by Professor Steindorff.

[2] For the scene see L., *D.*, iii., 110*b*, which includes twenty-one of the horizontal lines.

[3] Not a second daughter. An attendant is not elsewhere shown on the stelae, but the child was so young that a nurse seemed fitting.

[4] For the scene above see L., *D.*, iii., 110*a*, and my sketch (based on that and on photographs) on Plate xxxiii. The faces of the King and Queen are reproduced in L., *D.*, iii., 295, nos. 45, 48, and are characteristic for the stelae.

[5] Steindorff, *Durch die Lybische Wüste*, pp. 11, 12. *Bericht d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. Leipzig*, 1900, pp. 210–212 (photographs).

[6] The negatives for both photographs of this stela were kindly furnished by Professor Steindorff.

[7] Cf. Hay's account of his visit to the stela at Tuneh. "The principal personage commenced by asking why we had shut up the door as soon as we saw them coming . . . for he insisted that the tablet could be nothing less" (*Add.*

and 12 feet 6 inches high. Only a fragment with the heads of the Royal pair remains. The King, Queen and two princesses were shown praying to the Aten on either side a central altar-table. On the left the heads of both King and Queen are preserved, but are removed on the right.[1] The King wears the crown of Lower Egypt on the left, that of Upper Egypt on the right; the Queen wears the plumes. Of the text I copied two large detached fragments. There are groups of the King and Queen and of the two princesses on either side the stela. The Queen's tablet contains the name of Aten and her own, the King's that of Aten and his own.[2] One head of Merytaten remains. The writing is from right to left.

Stela Q.—This stela occupies a commanding position at the top of a spur facing northwards down the western track (Plates xli., xlii.). It is 8 feet high and 52 inches broad, containing twenty-seven horizontal lines of inscription written from right to left, but below line 12 nearly all is lost.

The scene above shows the King and Queen praying and the two princesses shaking sistrums on either side of a central altar. None of the cartouches are injured. There were the usual groups of statues on both sides, the higher tablet being on the right. They are completely smashed, the injuries apparently being contemporary; and on searching the slope and foot of the hill I found the remains strewn about, but badly weatherworn. They included (1) the head of the Queen (or a princess) in an enveloping wig, almost defaced; (2) the face of the Queen (?); (3) head of the King wearing the crown of the North; (4) torso and head of a princess, the former well formed and little injured; (5) many fragments of the tablets.[3]

Stela R (Plate xlii.) is on the east slope of the eastern *khor*, about three-quarters of an hour's walk from the southern tombs. It is 88 inches high and 58 inches broad. The text, which was contained in twenty-nine (?) lines written from right to left, is terribly mutilated, partly by natural decay and loss of patching-stones, and partly through wanton injury. The scene above shows the royal family worshipping in the usual way on both sides of an altar, near which are stands with lotus-flowers.

There are fragments still on the left (N.) of the stela, showing that there was a group of the King and Queen and another of the princesses on this side.

Stela S (Plates xxvi., xxxix., xl., xliv.)[4] lies a few hundred yards behind R at the foot of the mountain-side. It is 60 inches broad and 100 inches high, and contains four columns and twenty-six lines of inscription written from right to left. The sculptors chanced on a vein of limestone as hard as alabaster, so that the greater part of the monument is marvellously preserved, though spiteful attacks have been made upon it lately. The work in the scene above the inscription is beautifully fine, though the profiles are hideous and the forms of the body outrageous.

The usual groups of statuary are found on both sides of the stela and show admirable modelling. The royal group on the right (S) of the stela holds the tablets at shoulder-height; the others are held with bent arm. Except for a narrow girdle round the loins of the King, both figures are nude. The south figure of the King wears the *khepersh* (?), that on the North has the crown of the North. The south tablet

MSS. 31054, p. 163). Natural caverns at the foot of some of the stelae (especially curious in S), help this fancy, which is responsible for many injuries to monuments in Egypt.

[1] I discovered and brought away the profile of the Queen.

[2] The south tablet is 43 inches high; that on the north, 35 inches.

[3] See Plate xliv. No. 3 is in the Museum of Melbourne, Australia; Nos. 2 and 4 are in the Cairo Museum.

[4] Prisse, *Mon. Ég.*, Pl. xiii. Copy by De Brynestyn who appears to have drawn the scene from memory.

shows the cartouches of King, Queen and Aten; that on the north shows those of the King and the Aten only.[1]

STELA U (Plates xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii.).—This gigantic monument, measuring 25 feet from top to bottom, occupies almost the entire height of the cliff in a little bay of the eastern mountain-range, just to the north of the mouth of the great ravine in which the Royal tomb lies. It is absolutely impossible of close approach except by rope-ladder from above, and the text is therefore difficult to secure. There are three columns and twenty-four lines of text written from left to right. The scene shows the King and Queen praying with extended arms,[2] and two daughters shaking sistrums.

On each side of the stela a deep recess has been cut in the rock to hold the groups of statuary. On the right (S) was a group of the King and Queen with tablets held breast-high and inscribed with fuller eulogies of the King (?) and Queen than usual. The princesses are almost destroyed. On the left the remains show *separate* statues, more than life-size, of the King and Queen, each holding a narrow tablet shoulder-high against the body. The statues of the daughters are more than infantine in comparative size. A broad road leads to it from the city.

STELA V lies high up on the hills, a little to the south of the defile which pierces them in the midst of the northern tombs, the position being apparently chosen as directly opposite B. Owing to the nature of the rock, nothing now remains but half-a-dozen signs, apparently from line 19 (S). There are faint traces of a road leading to it from the city.

STELA X, the most northern on the east side, lies at the point where the track through the defile just mentioned strikes the river again. It is set high up on the shoulder of the mountain, above the ruined tomb of the Lady Zebayda, facing the river (225°). It contains the proclamation of the fourth year, but is in a state of ruin even more lamentable than that of K, its fellow on the south. The stela is 81 inches broad, and there is more than 12 feet of height above the lowest extant line (No. 57). It affords room for the full text of eighty lines.

The scene above is only to be made out with difficulty. On the left the King stands in adoration, and with him the Queen and Merytaten (?). In the centre are twenty-one columns of text, and beyond this there seems to have been an altar heaped with offerings. The writing is from right to left.

D. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE SITE.[3]

STELA A, near Tuneh El Gebel on the West side, was the first to be discovered. It was known already to WILKINSON,[4] and probably HAY, who drew it in 1827, learnt of its existence from him. NESTOR L'HÔTE visited it in 1839 and made rough drawings of it.[5] PRISSE did more, publishing the entire monument. LEPSIUS published only the date and names. DARESSY, in 1893, included this text in a collation.[6]

STELA U, being near to the Northern tombs, was discovered by HARRIS and GLIDDON in 1840,[7] sketched by L'HÔTE, and copied by PRISSE. It is included also in M. Daressy's collation.

STELA S was found and copied by DE BRYNESTYN, Prisse's companion, and published by the

[1] I made an attempt to find the heads, but failed. A fragment showing a cartouche of Aten was sent to the National Museum, Melbourne, Australia, by M. Maspero's kind permission.

[2] PRISSE, *Mon. Ég.*, Pl. xii. Sketch in L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, iii., 302. The figures in Prisse should conform in attitude and dress to those in Plate xxvi.

[3] Fuller references are given elsewhere.

[4] *Topography of Thebes*, p. 383.

[5] *Lettres Écrites*, pp. 129–134.

[6] *Recueil de Travaux*, xv., pp. 51–58, also p. 61.

[7] PRISSE, *Mon. Ég.*, p. 3.

latter.[1] M. Daressy published a fine photograph and printed the text (v. *supra*).

Stela K was published by Lepsius, as also the upper part of Stela N.[2]

Stela Q was first found, I believe, by Mr. Newberry.

Stelae B, F, J, P, M, R, V were the reward of Prof. Petrie's indefatigable scrutiny of the whole district in 1892.[3] R is included also in M. Daressy's collation.

Stela X, the farthest to the north yet discovered on the east bank, was shown to me by an Arab in 1901.[4] Breasted has made use of it for his recent work.[5]

Steindorff, Borchardt and Grünau visited the eastern stelae in 1898, copied the text of eight of them, securing excellent photographs, and made excavations at N.[6]

E. The Earlier Proclamation.[7]

Year 4 [8] fourth month of the second season, [day] 4 (?).[9] Liveth the Good God, etc.

[Liveth Father] (Hor-Aton) |[ii] etc.[10]

[Liveth Horus] |[iii] (N.) (A.), etc.[11]

. . . . |[iv] appearing on the throne of Re of the living (?) like his father Aton every day, the good (?) god . . . . . |[v] might . . . . . doing service to Him that formed (?) him . . . . . to the sky . . . . |[vi] when he places himself . . . . the living Aton, lord . . . . . [Son of Re], living in Truth, [lord of] diadems, |[vii] Akhenaton, great in his duration, living for ever;

(and) the hereditary-princess (?), great in the palace, fair of face, beauteous with the double plume, mistress of happiness, [endowed with favours] at hearing whose voice one rejoices,[12] |[viii] lady of grace, great of love, by whose nature the lord of the two lands is well-pleased, great of . . . . . to the Aton, contenting . . . . . in the horizon, for whom every (word) that is spoken is done,[13] |[ix] chief wife of the king, whom he loves, mistress of the Two lands, (Beauty of the Beauties of Aton, Neferteit), living for ever;

On this day (Royalty) was[14] in [Akhetaton ?]. His [Majesty ascended] a great chariot |[x] of electrum, like Aton when he rises from his horizon and fills the land with his love, ... the Aton; (and) started [a goodly course to] Akhetaton, his place of the beginning which he had made |[xi] for himself that he might rest within it daily (?)—for his son 'The unique one of Re' had made for him his monument in founding for him [Akhetaton] according (?) as [his father had given command] to make it—[Heaven was] in joy,[15] earth in rejoicing, |[xii] every heart in gladness, when they saw him. (And his Majesty) offered a [great] oblation to Father (Hor-Aton) of bread, beer, horned |[xiii] bulls,

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[1] Prisse, *Mon. Ég.*, p. 3 and Pl. xiii.

[2] L., *D. Text*, p. 129. There are squeezes of K in Berlin.

[3] Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pp. 5, 6, Pls. xxxiv., xxxv.

[4] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pp. 5, 6.

[5] *Records*, ii., p. 393.

[6] For references, see p. 25.

[7] Plates xxix.–xxxii., xxxviii. (photograph). The sources used are the Stelae K, X, and M. Of M only a few phrases are now legible. For K and X I have used my squeezes and photographs and plates revised on the spot. For K, see also L., *D.*, iii., 110*b*. A fragmentary translation is given in Breasted, *Records*, pp. 392–394. The numbers of the lines, where not otherwise marked, are those of K. The lines of X are marked off as far and as accurately as possible in the text of K.

By much the larger share of any responsibility or credit for the translation of these two proclamations must fall to Mr. Griffith, to whom the final form it has taken is also due.

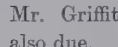
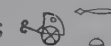
[8] The reading is confirmed by the recurrence of "year 4" below (l. 20).

[9] "Day 13," which the broken signs easily permit us to read, would date the later proclamation to the anniversary of this.

[10] Atôn was probably the true pronunciation of the god's name, which thus differed by only one letter from Amôn, Amûn, the god whom he displaced.

[11] The rendering as far as line xiv. is much guided by the later proclamation, where a full translation of the similar titularies is given. The ordinary titulary of Akhenaten is abbreviated elsewhere in these pages to (N.) (A.), and the cartouches of the god to (Hor-Aton).

[12] The above titles of the Queen are those which she bears in the later proclamation. Her name is often transcribed Nefertiti.

[13] Cf. II., p. 14. Read at the end of line vi.;  at the end of line vii.; at the end of line viii.;  at the end of line ix.

[14] Lit. "One was." "On this day" refers of course to the opening date, what has intervened being merely protocol.

[15] Read III.

polled bulls, beasts, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, frankincense (?), all goodly herbs[1] [on the day of demarcating] Akhetaton [for the living Aton—who ac]cepted [favoured and loved] |[xiv] the Sovereign (L. P. H.),[2] Lord of the two lands (Beautiful of the forms of Re, Unique one of Re).

After these things, the good pleasure (?) of the Aton was done . . . . . making for him joy . . . . |[xv] Akhetaton in gladness, he rested on [his gre]at throne with which he is well pleased, which uplifts (?) [his] beauties . . . . . |[xvi] (And) [his Majesty stood] before Father (Hor-Aton) [and Aton radiated upon him in life and length of days, invigorating his body every day]. [Said] |[xvii] his Majesty: "Bring me the companions of the king, the great ones and mighty (?) ones, the captains of soldiers, ... [of the land] in its entirety." They were |[xviii] conducted to him immediately. They were on their bellies before his Majesty, smelling [the ground to his mighty will].

His [Majesty said] unto them: "Behold[3] [Akhetaton (?) which] |[xix] the Aton desires me to make unto him as a monument in the [great] name of [my Majesty] for ever:[4] it was the Aton my father that [brought me to] |[xx] Akhetaton. Not a noble directed (?) me to it,[5] not [any man in] the whole land directed (?) me to it say[ing "It is fitting for his Majesty] that he |[xxi] make an Horizon-of-Aton (Akhetaton) in this place." Nay, but it was the Aton my father that [directed (?) me] to it, to make it for him as an Horizon-of-Aton (Akhetaton). Behold |[1] I did not find (?)[6] . . . . . .

. . . . Aton for the Aton my father: behold Pharaoh L. P. H. found that it belonged not to a god, it belonged not to a goddess, it belonged not to prince, it belonged not to princess[7] |[2] . . . [There is no right for] any man to act as owner of it . . . . I found . . . . witness . . . . everything. For Father (Hor-Aton) related to me . . . . of truth regarding Akhetaton for ever |[3] and ever.[8] Every eye seeth (?) . . . . rays beauteous with (?) love, at sight of which every land liveth, he making (?) . . . . upon (N.) |[4] his child (?) . . . . for ever and ever. For Akhetaton . . . . . (Beauty of the beauties of Aton, Neferteit) to wife (?) . . . . for ever and ever, said . . . . (Hor-Aton) by command . . . . |[5] monument of the Aton . . . . knowing the bounds of eternity. Lo! it is he that putteth in thy heart regarding any place that he desires: he doth not uplift the name of any king[9] [except] thy Majesty, [he] doth not |[6] . . . . another except . . . . . beneficent (?) . . . . of To-Mera (Egypt) . . . . like the horizon of heaven . . . . Aton . . . . great . . . . of making a monument to the living Aton . . . . . .

|[7]. . . . Aton thou drawest (?) unto him every land (?), thou adornest for him village[s?] . . . . which he hath [made?] for his own self, all lands, all countries, the Ha-nebu with their products, their tribute on their backs for him that made their life, him by whose rays one liveth and breathes the air . . . . |[8] [may he grant me] eternity in seeing his rays . . . . . verily (?) Akhetaton is thriving like Aton in heaven for ever and eternally.

Then his Majesty lifted his hand to heaven unto Him that formed him, (Hor-Aton), saying:

As Father (Hor-Aton) liveth, |[9] the great and living Aton, ordaining life, vigorous in life, my father, ... my wall of a million cubits, my remembrancer of eternity, my witness of that which belongs to eternity,[10] that formeth himself with his hands, whom no artificer hath known, who is established in rising |[10] and setting each day without ceasing. Whether he is in heaven or on earth [every] eye sees him without . . . . while he fills [the land with] his beams and makes every face to live. With seeing whom may my eyes be satisfied daily, when he rises in this House of Aton[11] in Akhetaton, and fills it with his own self by his beams |[11] beauteous with love, and lays them upon me in life and length of days (?) for ever and ever.[12]

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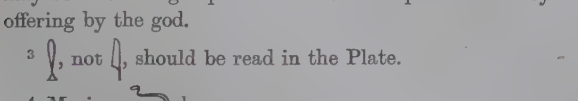
[1] The term probably includes flowers.

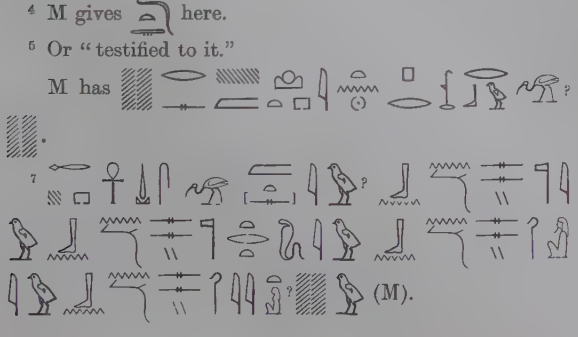
[2] The salutation "Life, Prosperity, Health!" often attached to mention of Royalty. The preceding phrase may be a standing expression for the acceptance of a royal offering by the god.

[3] , not , should be read in the Plate.

[4] M gives here.

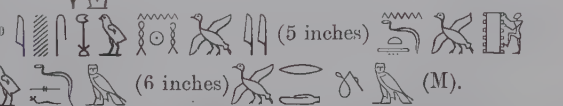
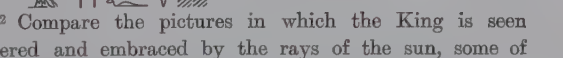
[5] Or "testified to it."

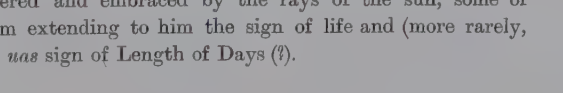
[6] M has  .

[7]  (M).

[8] (M.)

[9] Read from a revised copy.

[10]  (5 inches) (6 inches)  (M).

[11]  (M).

[12] Compare the pictures in which the King is seen covered and embraced by the rays of the sun, some of them extending to him the sign of life and (more rarely, the *uas* sign of Length of Days (?).

I will make[1] Akhetaton for the Aton my father in this place. I will not make for him Akhetaton south of it, north of it, west of it, or east of it. I will not pass beyond the southern tablet of Akhetaton southward, neither will I pass beyond the northern tablet of Akhetaton [northward, to] |[12] make [for him] Akhetaton therein; neither will I make for him on the western side of Akhetaton. Nay, but I will make (?) Akhetaton for the Aton my Father upon the Orient side of Akhetaton, the place which he did enclose for his own self with cliff (?), and made a *hryt* in the midst of it, that I might offer to him thereon: this is it. Neither shall the Queen say unto me |[13] "Behold there is a goodly place for Akhetaton in another place" and I hearken unto her: neither shall any noble . . . . . of all men who are in the whole land [say unto me] "Behold there is a goodly place for Akhetaton in another place" and I hearken to them, whether it be downstream-ward, or southward |[14] or westward, or Orient-ward. I will not say "I will abandon Akhetaton, I will hasten away and make Akhetaton in this other goodly place . . . . . for ever (?)." Nay, but [I did find (?)] this Akhetaton for the Aton, which he had himself desired, and with which he is delighted for ever and ever.

I will make a House of Aton for the Aton my father in Akhetaton in |[15] this place;

I will make . . . . . Aton for the Aton my father in Akhetaton in this place;

I will make the Shade of Re of the [great] wife of the King [(Neferteit)][2] for the Aton my father in Akhetaton in this place;

I will make a House of Rejoicing for the Aton my father in the island of "Aton distinguished in Jubilees" in Akhetaton in this place[3];

I will make a House |[16] of Rejoicing . . . . . [for] the Aton my father in the island of "Aton distinguished in Jubilees" in Akhetaton in this place;

I will make all works which [are required] to be done for the Aton my father in Akhetaton in this place;

I will make . . . . . for the Aton my father in Akhetaton in this place;

I will make for myself |[17] the palace of Pharaoh (L.P.H.); I will make the palace of the Queen in Akhetaton in this place.

There shall be made for me a sepulchre in the Ori[ent] mountain; my burial shall be [made] therein in the multitude of jubilees which the Aton my father hath ordained for me, and the burial of the chief wife of the King (Neferteit)[4] shall be made therein in that [multitude of years][5] |[18] . . . . . [and the burial of] the King's daughter Merit-aton shall be made in it in that multitude of years.[6] If I die in any town of the north, south, west, Orient in the multitude of years, I will be brought and my burial made in Akhetaton. If the great Queen (Neferteit) who lives, die in any town of north, south, west, or Orient, in the [multitude of years, she shall be brought |[19] and buried in Akhetaton. If the King's daughter Meritaton die] in any city of north, south, west, or Orient, in the multitude of years, she shall be brought and buried in Akhetaton. And the sepulchre[7] of Mreu (Mnevis) shall be made in the Orient mountain of Akhetaton, [and he shall be buried] therein.

[The] tombs of the "Great of Seeing"[8] and the divine fathers of the Aton[9] and the [prie]sts (?) [of the A]ton shall be made in the Or[ient] mountain [of Akhetaton and they shall be buried in them. |[20]

The tomb of the officers, etc., shall be made in the Orient mountain of Akhet]aton and they shall be [buried] therein.

For, as Father (Hor-Aton) liveth, ... priests (?) more evil are they than those things which I heard unto year 4, [more evil are th]ey than [those

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[1] Grammatically, it is equally possible to translate "I have made," and so in all cases.

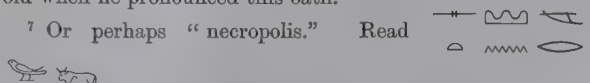
[2] Taia and Merytaton are each given a "Shade of Re" in the texts. Nothing is known of a "Shade of Re" of Neferteit, but it is not likely that Taia would be entitled simply "King's wife" in the reign of Akhenaton.

[3] There is still a large cultivable island opposite Et Til, but the river-bed shifts a good deal there.

[4] This shortened form of the Queen's name is used in every case on these three stelae where it can be tested, (though in broken cartouches the longer title seems indicated) and seems a sign of the early date.

[5] In each case the day of burial is postponed almost infinitely.

[6] Evidently only the eldest daughter was yet born. Dr. Elliott Smith's examination of the skeleton found with the furniture of Queen Taia points to the startling conclusion that the King could scarcely have been fifteen years old when he pronounced this oath.

[7] Or perhaps "necropolis." Read  .

[8] The title of the chief priest of Re at Heliopolis. This and, still more, the adoption of the sacred bull Mnevis show a close connection of Aton worship with the cult of the sun-god at Heliopolis, at any rate in the early years; it is very unexpected to find animal-worship thus retained in some degree by the "heretic." Perhaps this was a concession to Egyptian prejudice and intended to conciliate the second or third greatest of the religious bodies in the struggle with Amon-worship. On the other hand, it is possible that Heliopolis was one of the main sources of the "heresy."

[9] I have neglected to enter in the plate the clearer reading of K, which I obtained on revision:

things] which I have heard in[1] the year (?) . . . . . more evil are they than those things which King . . . . . [heard], more evil are they than those things which |[21] (Men-kheperu-re) (?) heard . . . . . in the mouth (?) of negroes, in the mouth (?) of [any ?] people . . . .[2]

|[K 25 (= X 26)] . . . . of Kush as far as . . . .

|[X 27] . . . . it shall not be said . . . .

|[X 29] . . . . [of gaz]elles (?), of addax[es] . . . .

|[X 31] . . . . the headland of the . . . [tablet] . . . .

|[M 30] . . . . as my father (Hor-Aton) liveth . . . .

|[K 31 (= M 31)] . . . . likewise all feasts, every season . . . . the chief wife of the King, Neferteit . . . .[3]

|[K 32] . . . . Aton in the district . . . . . Akhetaton, and I will not make

|[K 33] . . . . in the central (?) foreshore[s],[4] in the central (?) islands . . . . . which I offer (?) to the Aton [my father]. I indeed will make . . . .

|[K 34] . . . . [the Aton my] father in the House of Aton in Akhetaton; he shall not offer (?). If I be (?)[5] . . . . . if I be in any city,[6] in any town . . . .

|[K 35] . . . . likewise the festival (?) [of] Aton, the offering . . . .

|[X 36] . . . . every place [unto ?] which it is my desire to go . . . .

|[X 37] . . . which he found for himself . . . .

|[K 39] . . . . [ships supplied] with everything in Akhetaton to let him voyage, whether he voyage northward or southward . . . . . .

|[K 40 (= X 40)] . . . . (Hor-Aton). The celebration (?) of a Jubilee . . . . . the south (?) tablet of Akhetaton. I will celebrate (?) the Jubilee . . . .

|[X 42] . . . . the headland of the northern tablet . . . .

|[X 51] unto the west (?), to the Orient, to . . . . . to the water in the river . . . .

[X 52] . . . . trees (?), all things that are in the whole land; they are for father [(Hor-Aton)] . . . .

|[X 53] the granary (?) of Aton under (?) the hand of the Superior of the house of Akhetaton . . . . his (?) palette being in . . . .

|[X 54] . . . . . upon their bellies unto Pharaoh, L.P.H., their (?) lord, and the Queen (?) [their mistress].

|[K 79] . . . . with life and length of days (?), (N.). The whole land was in [joy] and holiday . . . .

|[K 80] . . . . . in Akhetaton for ever and ever. (End).

[1] K has (revised reading).

[2] (revised reading of K).

[3] (M 32).

[4] (M 33).

[5] (M 34).

[6] A place of royal residence is probably meant.

F. The Later Proclamation.[7]

Year 6, fourth month of the second season, thirteenth day.[8]

Liveth the Good God, well pleased with Truth, |[11] Lord of heaven, Lord of earth, Living Aton, Great, Illuminating the two regions.

Liveth Father[9] |[111] (Ra-hor, Horizon-god,[10] rejoicing in

[7] The materials which I have used for the Plates xxvii., xxviii., xxxiii., are:—

Stela A.—Prisse, *Mon. Ég.* xiv. Daressy, collation in *Recueil* xv., pp. 50-58, with appendix of A in full (all type-printed). My hand-copy and squeezes. These only covered the portions of the stela which could be styled legible. The rest is not absolutely erased, but for the most part has very little evidential value. For two or three phrases I found myself dependent on Daressy. A partial copy in L'Hôte, *MS.* III., 303, 304.

Stela B.—Only my hasty hand-copy of the more legible parts (last four vertical lines; end of lines 1–5, lines 8 to near the end). A date in Petrie's notes.

Stela F.—Only Petrie's hand-copy. I did not obtain this in time to add it to the Plates, but have noted its readings where they have any importance.

Stela J.—My hand-copy of the more legible parts. Hand-copy by Petrie. Photographs by myself and Steindorff.

Stela N.—My hand-copy. Photographs by Steindorff.

Stela P.—My hand-copy of a few shattered fragments.

Stela Q.—My hand-copy (revised) and photographs. Also hand-copies kindly furnished me by Mr. Newberry and M. Maspero (copy by Shabaan Effendi).

Stela R.—Daressy (*loc. cit.*). My own copy and photographs.

Stela S.—Prisse, *Mon. Ég.*, Pl. xii.; Daressy, *loc. cit.* (photograph). Cast from squeezes by Petrie. My own copy (revised), complete squeezes and photographs.

Stela U.—Prisse, *Mon. Ég.*, Pl. xiii. Petrie, Hand-copy. My own hand-copy (revised) and revision of this by Steindorff. Photographs by Steindorff and myself.

My most serious indebtedness therefore is to Professor Petrie for his copy of F and to Professor Steindorff for his generous contribution of negatives for use and publication, his revision of Plate xxv., and general support of the enterprise. Plates xxxiii. (vertical lines), xxvi., xxix.–xxxii. are published from tracings of squeezes.

In the collation no notice has been taken of the different ways of writing *t*, *m*, *w*, *pa*, or the plural.

[8] "Fourteenth day" in Q. In U the date is written in reverse direction (Plate xxxiv., where U should be read for N), an Egyptian device for calling attention to a passage.

[9] See Vol. ii., p. 15. But probably the true explanation is that "Father mine" was the original meaning of this group, but became a standing epithet, used where "mine" is inappropriate. The suffix of the first person singular is written with the royal sign, because it refers to the King.

[10] "Hor, Horizon-god," or later "(P)Ra-Hor (*i.e.* the Sun-

the Horizon (in his name of The Light which is in Aton) who giveth [1] life for ever and eternity, |[iv] Living Aton, Great, In *sed*-festival,[2] within the temple of Aton in Akhetaton.[3]

|[1] Liveth the Horus "Strong Bull, Beloved of Aton"; The Two mistresses, [4] "Great in Sovereignty in Akhetaton"; the Golden Horus "Upholding the name of Aton"; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, "Living in Truth, Lord of the Two lands (Beauty of the Forms of Re, Unique one of Re)"; the Son of Re, "Living in Truth, Lord of diadems (Akhenaton),[5] Great in his duration, |[2] Who giveth life for ever and ever."

The Good God,[6] Unique one of Re, Whose beauties Aton created, Truly pious of heart to his Maker,[7] Contenting Him with the pleasures of His *ka*,[8] Doing services to Him that formed him, |[3] Presenting the earth to Him [9] that put him on His throne, Provisioning His House of Eternity [10] with millions and myriads of things, Upholding Aton, Magnifying His name, Causing the earth to belong to his Maker—the King (N.) |[4] (A.).

(and) The hereditary (?)-princess, Great in the palace, Fair of face, Beauteous with the double plume, Mistress of happiness, Endowed with favours, at hearing whose voice one [11] rejoices, Chief wife of the King, beloved by him, Mistress of the two lands,[12] (Beauty of the beauties of Aton Neferteit), Living for ever and eternity.[13]

[5] On this day (Royalty) was in Akhetaton in the parti-coloured pavilion [14] made for his Majesty L.P.H. in Akhetaton, the name of which is "The Aton is well-pleased." His Majesty (L.P.H.) ascended a span of horses and a great chariot |[6] of electrum,[15] like Aton when he rises from the horizon and fills the two lands with his love; (and) started a goodly course [16] to Akhetaton, (as ?) on the first occasion [17] that his Majesty L.P.H. found it,[18] to demarcate (?) [19] it as a monument to the Aton—even as |[7] his father (Hor-Aton), who giveth life for ever and eternity, had given command to make a monument to him within it—causing to be offered [20] a great oblation of bread, beer, horned bulls, polled bulls, beasts, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, all goodly herbs, on the day |[8] of demarcating Akhetaton for the living Aton, who accepted, favoured, and loved the Sovereign (L.P.H.) for (?) the King (N.) (A.).

And his Majesty (L.P.H.) went |[9] southward and halted on his chariot before his Father (Hor-Aton) at the south-east mountain of Akhetaton,[21] and Aton radiated |[10] upon him in life and length-of-days (?),[22] invigorating his body every day.

An oath pronounced by the king (N.) (A.):—

"As Father |[11] (Hor-Aton) liveth, as my heart is happy in the Queen and her children—as to whom, may it be granted that the chief wife of the King (Neferteit), living for ever and ever, grow aged |[12] with that multitude of years,[23] she being in the hand of Pharaoh (L.P.H.), and may it be granted that the king's daughter Meritaton and the king's daughter Meketaton, her children, grow old, they being in the hand of the chief wife of the king, |[13] their mother, eternally for ever!

Horus), Horizon-god," is the name of the sun-god of Heliopolis.

[1] Or "to whom is granted."

[2] Apparently meaning "celebrating (his own) Jubilee," which the sun-god might be supposed to do unceasingly.

[3] Meaning "Horizon of Aton."

[4] The king is identified with the vulture, goddess of the South, and the cobra, goddess of the North.

[5] Meaning "Pious (?) to Aton."

[6] "Liveth the good God." Q, U.

[7] A substitutes "Doing services to Him that formed him," omitting this phrase where it occurs below.

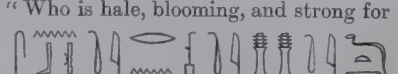
[8] "That which his *ka* loveth." R.

[9] Or perhaps "administering the earth for Him."

[10] "House of Eternity" is a phrase for the endowment estate of tomb or temple.

[11] The indefinite pronoun probably, as elsewhere, refers to the King.

[12] "Regent of the South and North Lands." U.

[13] B. substitutes "Who is hale, blooming, and strong for ever and ever."  Cf. VI., xxvii.

[14] Probably variegated matwork or the like is meant; or possibly "tent of spreading."

[15] Meaning, of course, "rode on a two-horse chariot."

[16] Or "took the goodly road"; the idea must be that the royal tent was pitched in the plain of Akhetaton and the King now goes to the city itself in which the temple of Aton was.

[17] A difficult passage, unless the word "as" may be supplied.

[18] Lit. "on the first occasion of finding it, which H. M. did."

[19] This seems to be the original meaning of the word, but "dedication" may be more exact here.

[20] It is not clear whether the sacrifice was on the previous occasion, or the present.

[21] It is not certain whether this means the southernmost hill-side on the east bank of the river where J is, or the hills which lie south-east of the city, near the tablets P, Q, R, S.

[22] Or "the rays of Aton were upon him in life and joy (?)." The sculptor of B has made mistakes here and left the signs in confusion.

[23] *i.e.* the years granted by Aton. The prayer seems to be that King, Queen and children may all live long together (in each other's hands).

"My oath of truth, which it is my desire to pronounce,[1] and of which I will not say, "it is false" eternally for ever:—

"The southern tablet, which is on the eastern mountain of Akhetaton. |[14] It is the tablet of Akhetaton, (namely) this (one) by which[2] I have made[3] halt: I will not pass beyond it[4] southwards, eternally |[15] for ever. Make the south-west tablet opposite it on the western mountain of Akhetaton, exactly.

"The middle tablet, which is on the eastern mountain of Akhetaton. It is the tablet of Akhetaton by which I have made |[16] halt on the orient[5] mountain of Akhetaton: I will not pass beyond it orient-wards, eternally for ever. Make the middle tablet which is (to be?) on the western mountain of Akhetaton opposite it exactly.[6]

"The north-eastern tablet |[17] of Akhetaton, by which I have made halt. It is the northern tablet of Akhetaton: I will not pass beyond it down-stream-wards, eternally for ever. Make the north[7] tablet which is (to be?) on the western mountain of Akhetaton opposite it, exactly.

|[18] "And Akhetaton (extends) from the south tablet as far as the north tablet, measured between tablet and tablet on the east mountain of Akhetaton, amounting to 6 *ater*, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *khe* and 4 cubits[8]; likewise from the south-west tablet of Akhetaton to the north-west tablet on the west mountain of Akhetaton, amounting to 6 *ater*, |[19] $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *khe* and 4 cubits, likewise exactly.

"And the |[20] area within these four tablets, from the east mountain to the west mountain is Akhetaton in its proper self[9]: it belongs to Father (Hor-Aton)—mountains, |[21] deserts, meadows, islands, upper-ground, lower-ground, land, water, villages, embankments, men, beasts, groves, and all things |[22] which the Aton my father shall (?) bring into existence eternally for ever.[10]

"I will not neglect this oath which I have made to the Aton my father eternally for ever; nay, but |[23] it shall be set on a tablet of stone as the south-east boundary,[11] likewise as the north-east boundary of Akhetaton, and shall be set likewise on a tablet of stone as the south-west boundary, likewise as the north-west[12] boundary |[24] of Akhetaton. It shall not be erased, it shall not be washed out, it shall not be kicked, it shall not be struck with stones, its spoiling (?) shall not be brought about. If it be missing,[13] if it be spoilt, if |[25] the stela on which it is shall fall, I will renew it again afresh in the place in which it was."

This oath was repeated in year 8, first month of the second season, eighth day.[14] |[26] Royalty was in Akhet-

---

[1] Petrie's earlier copy of J shows the same text as U without omission.

[2] Read in U; the other texts afford no evidence.

[3] "I will make" would be a possible translation.

[4] From the earlier decree it is evident that Akhenaton does not bind himself to remain personally within the limit, but only not to increase the territory of Akhetaton.

[5] A word from the root meaning "sunrise," used for "east" only in these texts of Akhenaton.

[6] Of the texts on the west bank, F is destroyed, and A is very fragmentary; but B, which must have been the tablet here referred to, gives the following special variation, "Make (?) the middle tablet which is on the western mountain (?) of Akhetaton opposite it upon the western mountain of Akhetaton: I will not pass beyond it westwards eternally for ever."

[7] So S. B seems to read "west," the others "[north]-west."

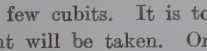
[8] The *ater* is the equivalent of the Greek *schoenus*, the length of which is still uncertain; the *khe* is the *schoenium* of a hundred cubits. According to Professor Petrie's map (*Tell el Amarna*, Pl. xxxiv.; see also this volume, Pl. xxxiv.), the distance between the earlier stelae X and K gives almost 4000 cubits to the *ater*, and the distance X–J would give this to within a few cubits. It is to be hoped that a precise measurement will be taken. On the west bank the distance A to F seems to correspond precisely to X to P, A being opposite X, B opposite V, F opposite P. Thus measured, the length is considerably greater, giving about 4500 cubits to the *ater*. The wording "the south tablet as far as the north tablet . . . on the east mountain," as opposed to the "south-west tablet" and "north-west tablet," imply that the measurement on the east bank is taken on the river (X to J), not in the desert (X to P).

[9] (N and U) "in regard to its body"; perhaps "bodily," "exactly." B seems to read "from the west mountain to the east mountain of (?) Akhetaton." The ~~~ before the name of Akhetaton is probably a mistake.

[10] In S was omitted by the sculptor, and had to be written over (Plate xxxix.).

[11] B reads "of Akhetaton; likewise on the middle tablet which is on (?) the [east] boundary [of] Akhetaton; likewise on (?) the north-east boundary of Akhetaton; likewise [on ?] the south-west boundary of Akhetaton; likewise on the middle tablet on the west mountain of Akhetaton; likewise on (?) the [north]-west boundary of Akhetaton."

[12] B appears to give only "west," U "north[-west]," the others have lost the passage. S seems to give only room for "likewise [the north-west] of Akhetaton."

[13] F reads  . With *whḥ*, *whwḥ* compare "abortus." occurs with the sense *carere* also in the hymns.

[14] The texts generally agree in this date, but F (Petrie)

aton, and Pharaoh L.P.H. stood, mounted[1] on a great chariot of electrum, inspecting the tablets[2] of the Aton which are on the mountain[3] as the south-east boundary of Akhetaton.[4]

On A, B, there is added:

Year 8, fourth month of the first season, last day.[5]

An oath pronounced by King (N.) (A.) at the fixing of the tablets of [the] boundary of Akhetaton:—

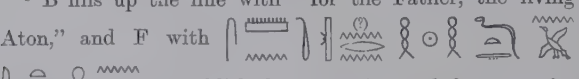
"As Father (Hor-Aton) liveth:

gives and B gives the curious date of the "sixth year, first (?) month of second season, day 4."

[1] The sculptor of S omitted , and had to insert it over .

[2] There were by this time many tablets for the south-east boundary. S reads , probably for , as on the other tablets.

[3] S has a larger space, perhaps originally left vacant. F reads "on the east mountain as the south (?) boundary."

[4] B fills up the line with "for the Father, the living Aton," and F with  "established to eternity and for ever, for the living Aton."

[5] Read . For the rest of the date, which is quite clear, I have Petrie's support.

"The six[6] tablets which I have fixed for boundaries of Akhetaton (are) the three tablets upon the orient mountain of Akhetaton together with the three tablets opposite them; [the south stela which is upon] the orient mountain of Akhetaton measured to the south stela which is opposite to it upon the western mountain of Akhetaton, becoming the south boundary of Akhetaton; and the north tablet which is on the orient mountain of Akhetaton, measured to the north (?) tablet, which is opposite [to it upon] the western mountain of Akhetaton, becoming the northern boundary of Akhetaton; likewise the middle tablet which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton measured to the middle tablet which is opposite it upon the western mountain of Akhetaton.

"And the breadth of Akhetaton is from mountain to mountain, from the eastern horizon of heaven to the western horizon of heaven.

"It shall be[7] for Father (Hor-Aton), its mountains (?), its deserts, ... its fowl, all its people, all its cattle, all things which the Aton produces, on which his rays shine, all things [which?] are in the . . . . . of Akhetaton, [they?] being for the Father, the living Aton, unto the temple of Aton in Akhetaton for ever eternally; they are all offered to his *ka*, and his rays are beauteous when they receive them."[8]

[6] A seems to read "five," B "six"; the latter is what is required.

[7] Read .

[8] The rays of Aton in the scenes end in hands which reach out to the offerings.

INDEX.

PAGES

Administration of Egypt 5
"Agent" 17
AHMES 5
AKHENATEN, age of 30
,, depicted (see "Royal Family").
,, titulary of . . . 20, 22, 27, 28, 32
AKHETATEN, foundation of . . . 20, 28, 29, 32
,, island of 21, 30
,, laudation of 16
,, measurements of . . . 33, 34
Alliteration 16, 33
Altars 2, 7, 8, 10, 22, 23, 26, 27
AMENHETEP II. 9
Animal-worship 30
ANKHES-EN-PA-ATEN 24
ANY 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17
,, wife of 8, 9
ANY-MEN 10
APY 13
Artists, work of Egyptian 3, 23, 26
ATEN, addressed as "Father" 31
,, adoration of
1, 2, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26
,, cartouches of . . 7, 9, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32
,, hymn to 7
,, temples of . . 7, 9, 20, 21, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34
Ater, value of 33
AY 2, 11, 21

Banquet of the dead 8, 9, 10, 11
Barsanti, M. 1, 6, 9
"Bearer of the fan" 4, 5, 14, 17, 18
Biography 4, 5, 7
Bouquets 3, 7, 9, 10, 11
Bouriant, M. 1, 18
Breasted, Professor 1, 4, 5, 28
Burial-chamber 2, 8, 13
,, shaft 8, 12
Burials, secondary 1, 8, 14

Cabins 3, 4
Ceilings, decoration of 1, 2, 4, 8

PAGES

"Chancellor" 4, 13, 16
Chairs 8, 10
Chariot 10, 21, 28, 32, 34
Charioteer 9, 10
Chronology 4, 5, 9, 20, 28
Colonnades 3, 6, 14
Colour 4, 7, 8, 10, 32
Columns 1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 13 14
"Companion" 4, 16, 29
Cornices 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14
Costume 10, 23, 24, 26

Daressy, M. . . . 1, 6, 9, 11, 15, 24, 27, 28, 31
Dated events . . 4, 20, 21, 22, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34
De Brynestyn 26, 27
"Divine fathers of Aten" 21, 30
Dy hetep seten prayers 11, 16, 17, 18

Erasures 1, 2, 5, 10, 22, 25, 33
"*Erpa*-prince" 4, 13, 16
Et Til, island of 30
Exaggerated forms 23, 26
Excavations . . . 1, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25

Fire in tombs 1
Flowers (see also "Bouquets") . . 10, 11, 26, 29

Garden depicted 3
Gildeh, Stela of 24
Graffiti 4, 7
Griffith, Mr. 28

"*Ha*-prince" 4, 13, 16
Ha-nebu, the 29
Hawata, Stelae of 24
Heliopolis (see also "ON") . . . 5, 21, 30, 32
Heryt 30
High-priest 21, 30
Horus, horizon-god 31, 32
"House of Rejoicing" 30

Ink designs . . . 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15

PAGES

Inset stones . . . 6, 23, 24, 25, 26
Island "Aton distinguished in Jubilees" . . 30

Jubilee (see "*Sed*-festival").

Karnak 3, 9
Kiosks 3
KUSH 21, 31

Lacau, M. 9, 11
Lamps, niches for 8
Later remains 1, 8, 12, 14, 24
Loggia 3

MAŸ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17
„ tomb of 1, 2, 3, 4
MEKETATEN 21, 23, 24, 25, 32
Mensuration 33
MERYRA 8, 17, 21
MERYTATEN 23, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32
Mnevis-bull 21, 30
Mummies 1
Museum, Cairo 3, 7, 9, 14, 26
„ Melbourne 26, 27
MUTBENRET 1, 2, 14

NEBWAWI 10
NEFERTEIT (see "NEFERTITI").
NEFERTITI (see also "Queen," "Royal Family") 2, 28, 30
NEKHT-PA-ATEN 5, 12, 13
Netting 3
Nubia 21

Oars 3
Officials 4, 5, 9, 12, 29
„ promotion of 4, 5
ON (see also "Heliopolis") 4, 5
Ostraca of El Amarna 5, 20
"Overseer of Cattle" 4, 5
"Overseer of Porters" 15
"Overseer of Soldiery" . . . 4, 15, 16, 17, 18
"Overseer of the house of Aa-kheperu-ra" . . 7, 9
"Overseer of the house of Sehetep-Aten" 4, 5, 16, 17
"Overseer of the house of Ua-en-ra" . . 4, 5, 18
"Overseer of the Treasury" 14, 17
"Overseer of works" 4, 5, 9, 15, 18
Ox, sacrificial 10

PA-ATEN-EM-HEB 5, 11, 15
PAKHA 9
Palace of Akhenaten . . . 3, 4, 5, 6, 20, 21, 30

PAGES

PARA 2
Parapet 8
Petrie, Professor . . 14, 15, 19, 20, 24, 28, 31, 33, 34
Pilasters 2, 6, 13, 14
Portals 1, 7, 8, 10, 13
„ with double cornice 2, 13, 14
Port-holes 4
Porticoes 6, 14
Portraiture 8, 9, 10, 11
Pottery 12, 13, 14
Prayers . . . 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17
Princesses (see "Royal Family").
PTAHMAŸ 9, 10, 11

Queen (see also "NEFERTITI"; "Royal Family")
4, 16, 17, 18, 26, 30, 31, 32
„ laudation of 4, 28, 32
„ sister of (see also "MUTBENRET") . . 1, 14
„ shortened name of 20, 25, 30

Ra, "shade" of 30
„ temple of 4, 5
RAMES 5, 13
RE-NEHEH 2
Rekhyt, the 16
Rewards, royal 3, 10
Ribbons 4
Roads to tombs 6, 10, 21, 27
Royal barges 3, 5
"Royal Chancellor" 4, 16
Royal family 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 32
„ head-dress 3, 23, 26
„ oath . . . 21, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34
"Royal Scribe" . . . 1, 2, 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18
Royal statues 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
„ tomb 20, 21, 22, 27, 30

Sailors depicted 3
"Scribe of Recruits" 4, 5
"Scribe of the King" (see "Royal Scribe").
"Scribe of the Altar" 7
"Scribe of the Offering Table" 7
Scribes depicted 10
Sed-festival 4, 15, 30, 31, 32
"Servant" (*sedem ash*) 10, 11, 17
"Shade of Ra" 30
Shipping depicted 3
Shrines 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14
Sistrums 22, 23, 25, 26, 27
Smith, Dr. Elliot 30
"Sole Companion" 4, 16

	PAGES
Stairs	2, 3, 8, 12, 13, 15, 24
Statues	2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
"Steward" (see "Overseer of the house")	
"Steward of the Lord of the two Lands"	15
Steindorff, Professor	24, 25, 28, 31
Sutau	14, 17
Tablets held by statues	23, 26, 27
Tablets, votive	6, 9, 10, 11, 16
Tackle of ships	3
Taia (Tyi), Queen	30
Tent of King	32
Thaÿ	10
Thebes	20
Thothmes IV.	9, 31
Tombs, Northern group of	6, 7, 21, 27
„ corridor	8, 14
To-mera	29
Tuneh-el-Gebel, Stela of	23, 25, 27
Tutu	5
Ua-en-ra	4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 28, 32
Unfinished decorations	3, 8, 12, 14, 18
„ tombs	2, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20
"Vizier"	13
Windows	3

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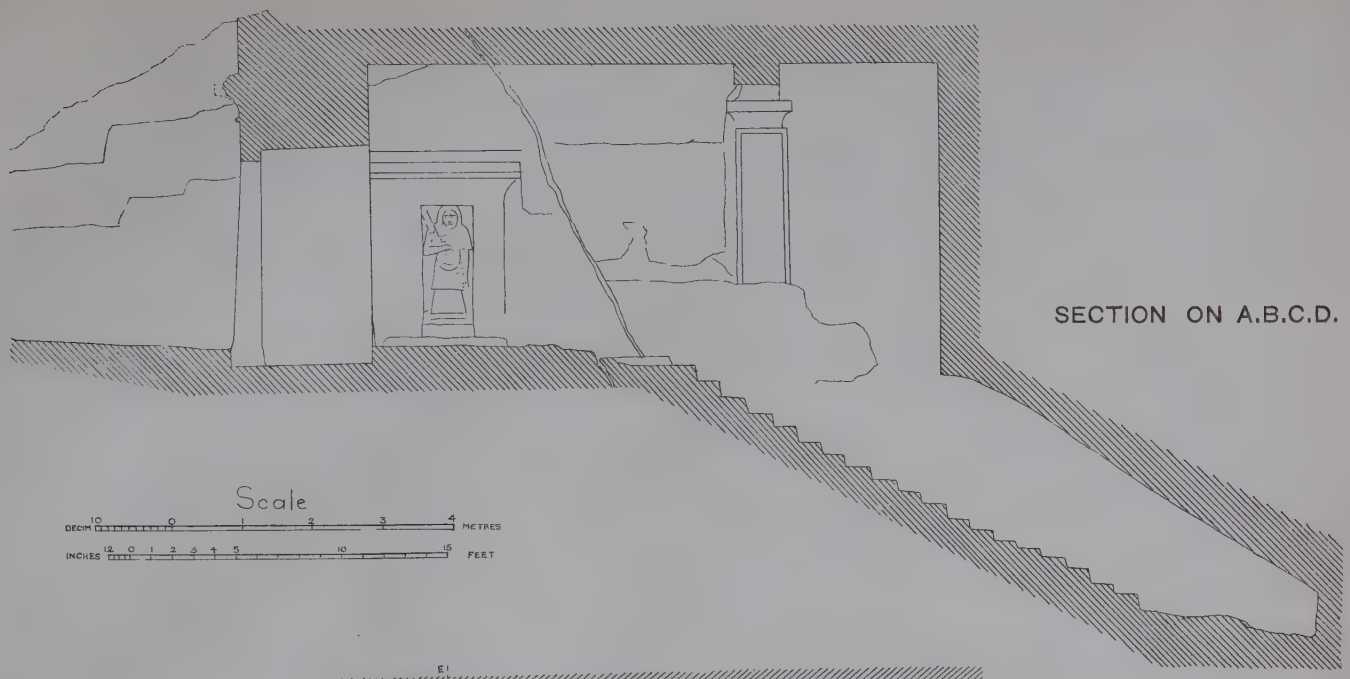
PLATES.

NOTE.

An index to the passages of the text which are explanatory of the several plates will be found on pp. vii., viii.

ERRATUM: On Plate xxxiv. *read* VERTICAL LINES. U.

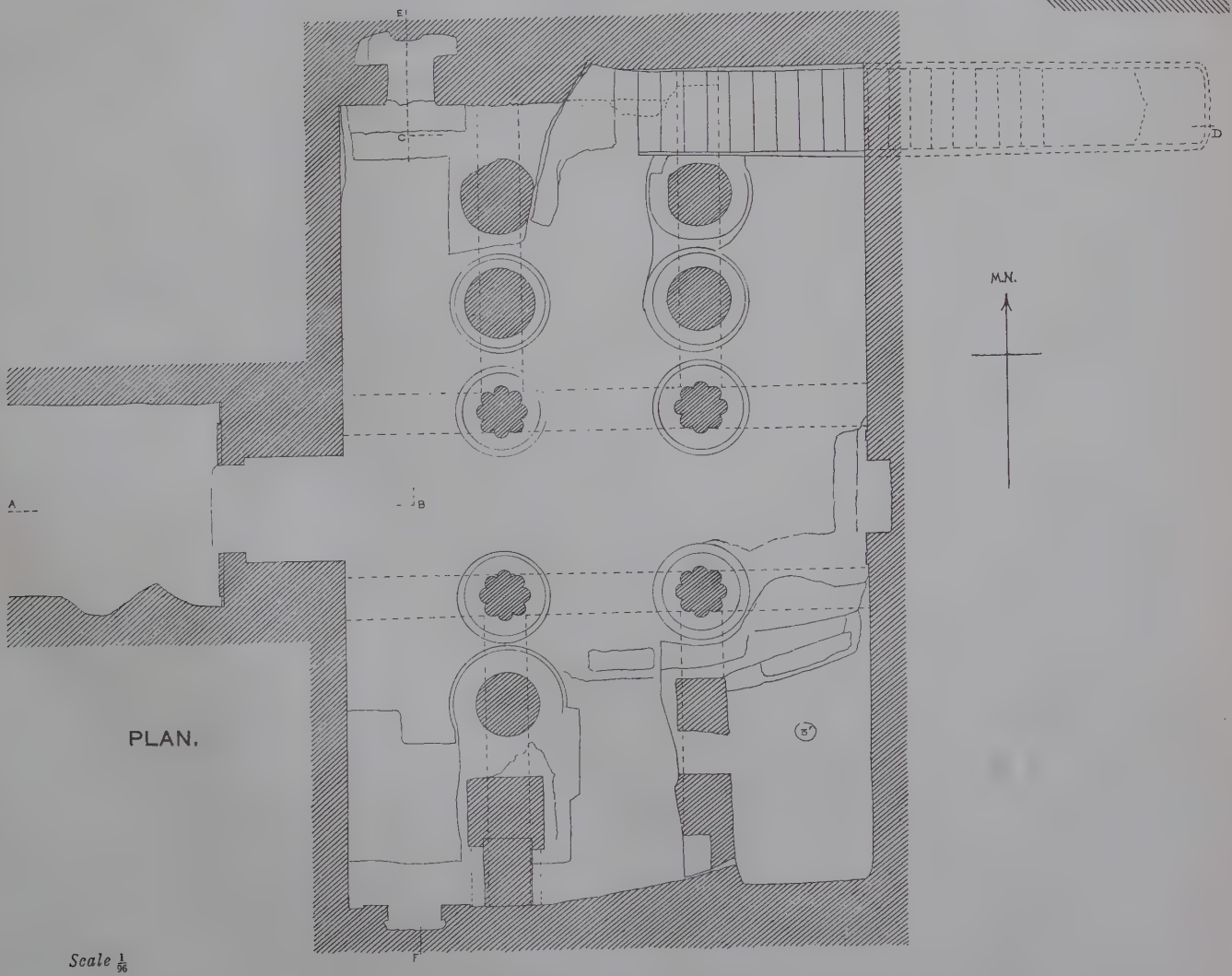


SECTION ON A.B.C.D.

Scale

DECIM 10 0 1 2 3 4 METRES

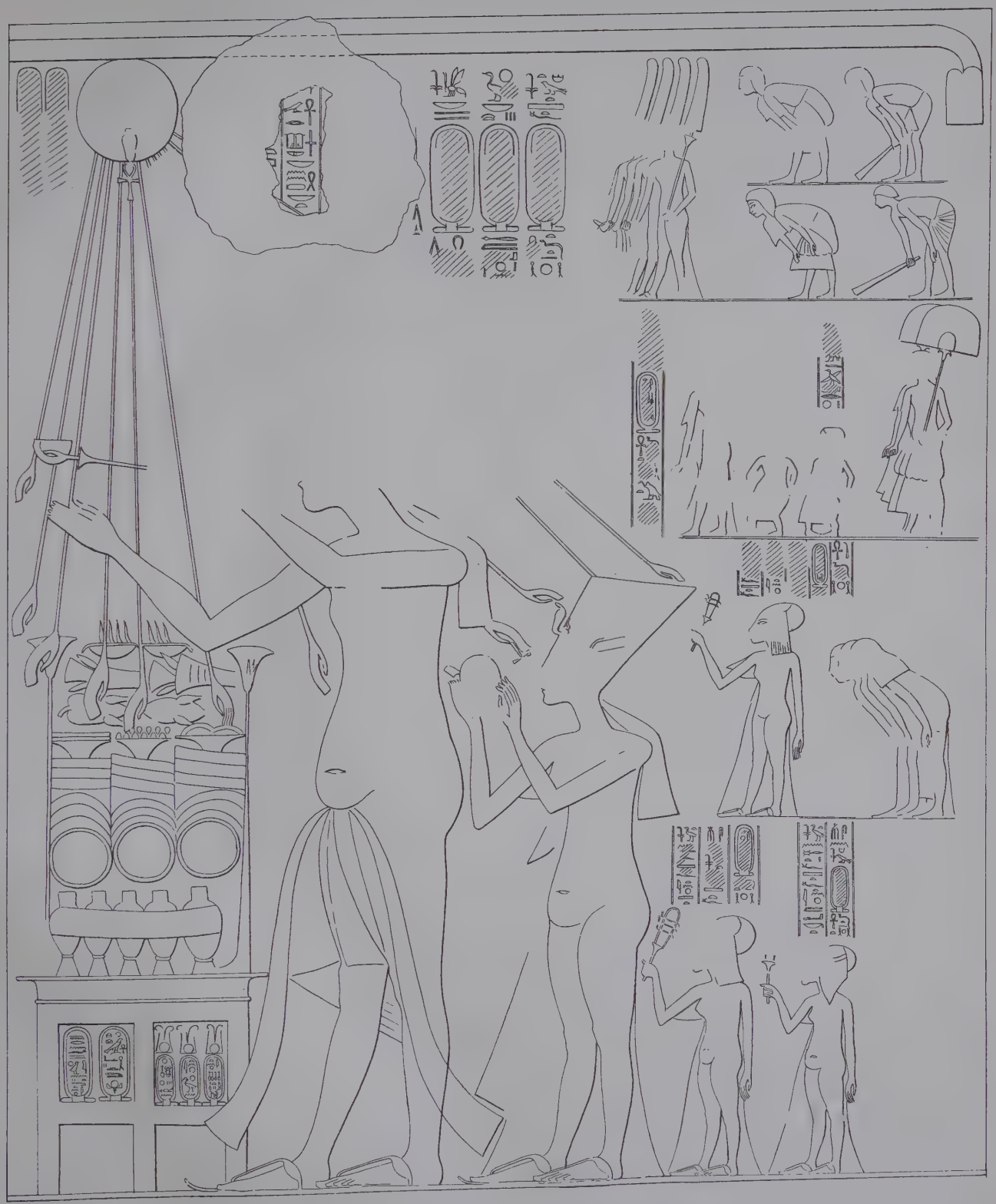
INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 FEET



PLAN.

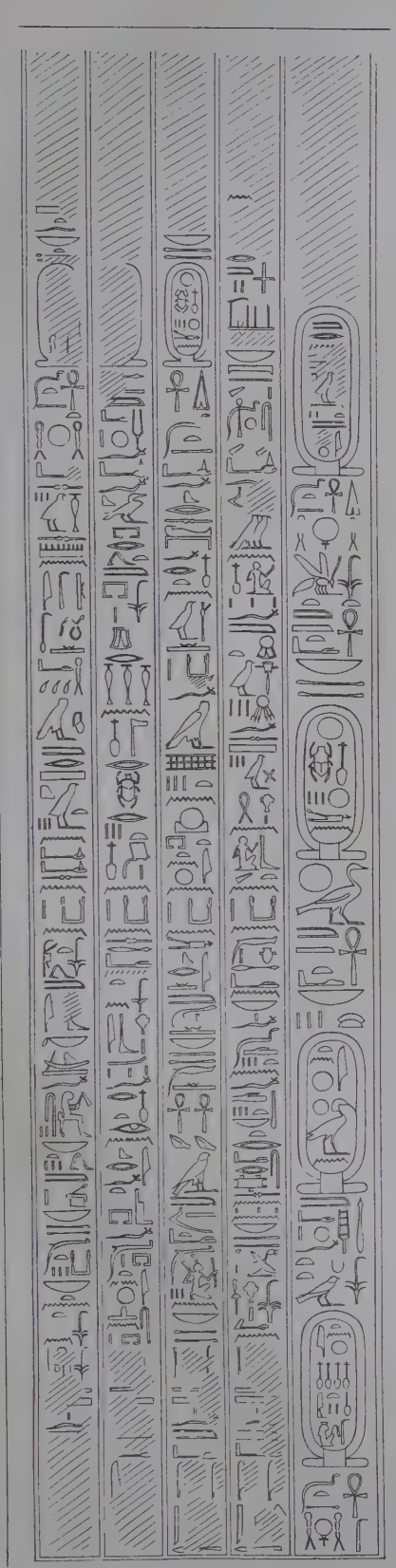
Scale $\frac{1}{96}$

COLUMN A.
NORTH
MIDDLE
Scale ½
Scale ½
Erased figure of Maÿ
15
10
5
SECTION ON E.F.
Scale 1/25
CEILING INSCRIPTIONS.
NORTH THICKNESS.
Scale 1/7



ROYAL FAMILY WORSHIP ATEN.

Scale ½

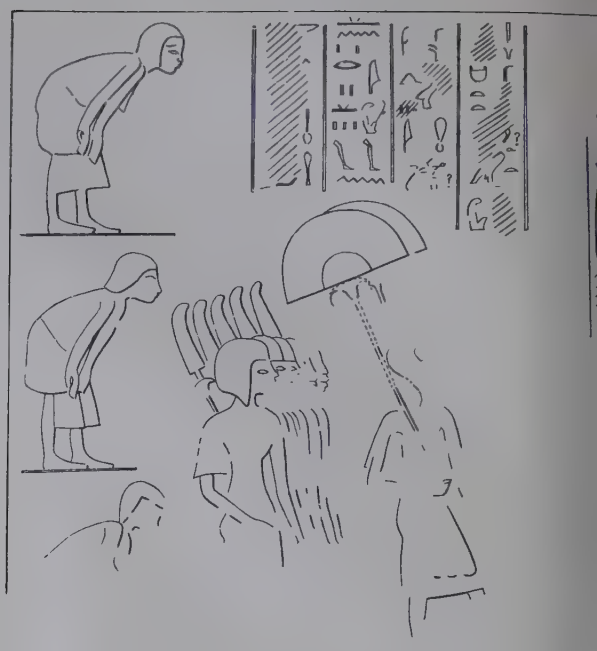


LEFT JAMB.

SOUTH THICKNESS.

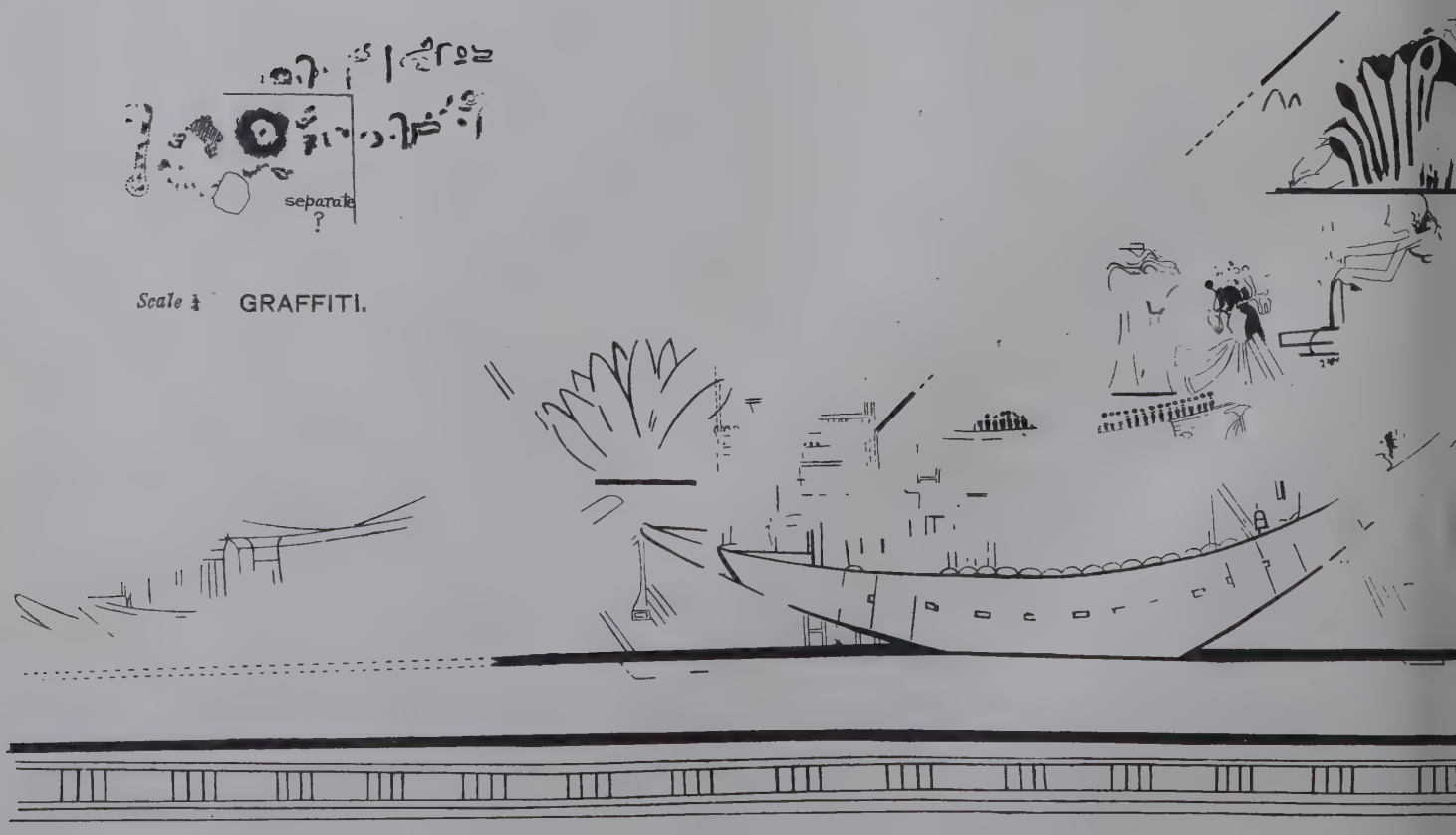
RIGHT JAMB

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$



Scale ½ LINTEL—N. END.

Scale ¼ GRAFFITI.



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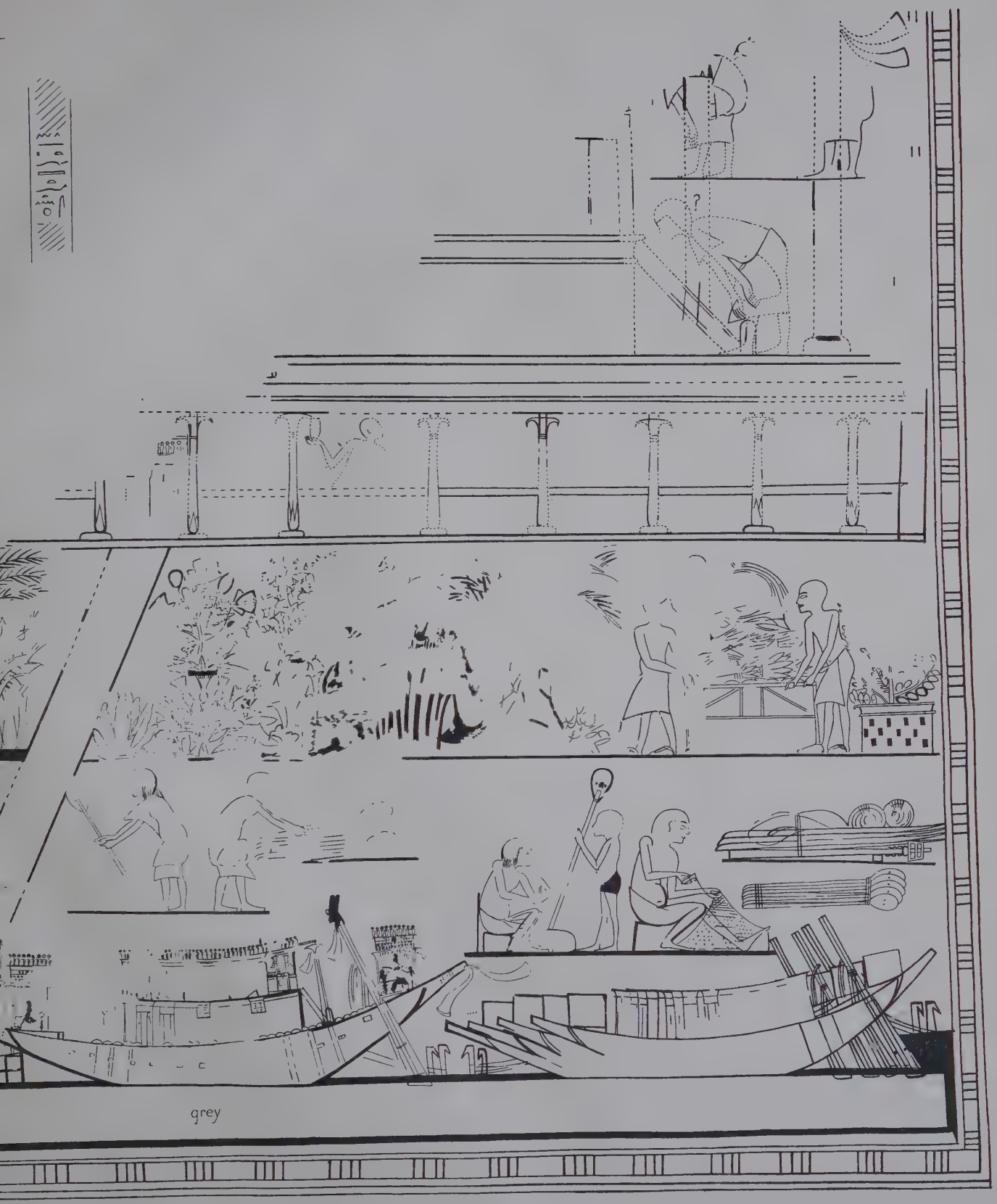
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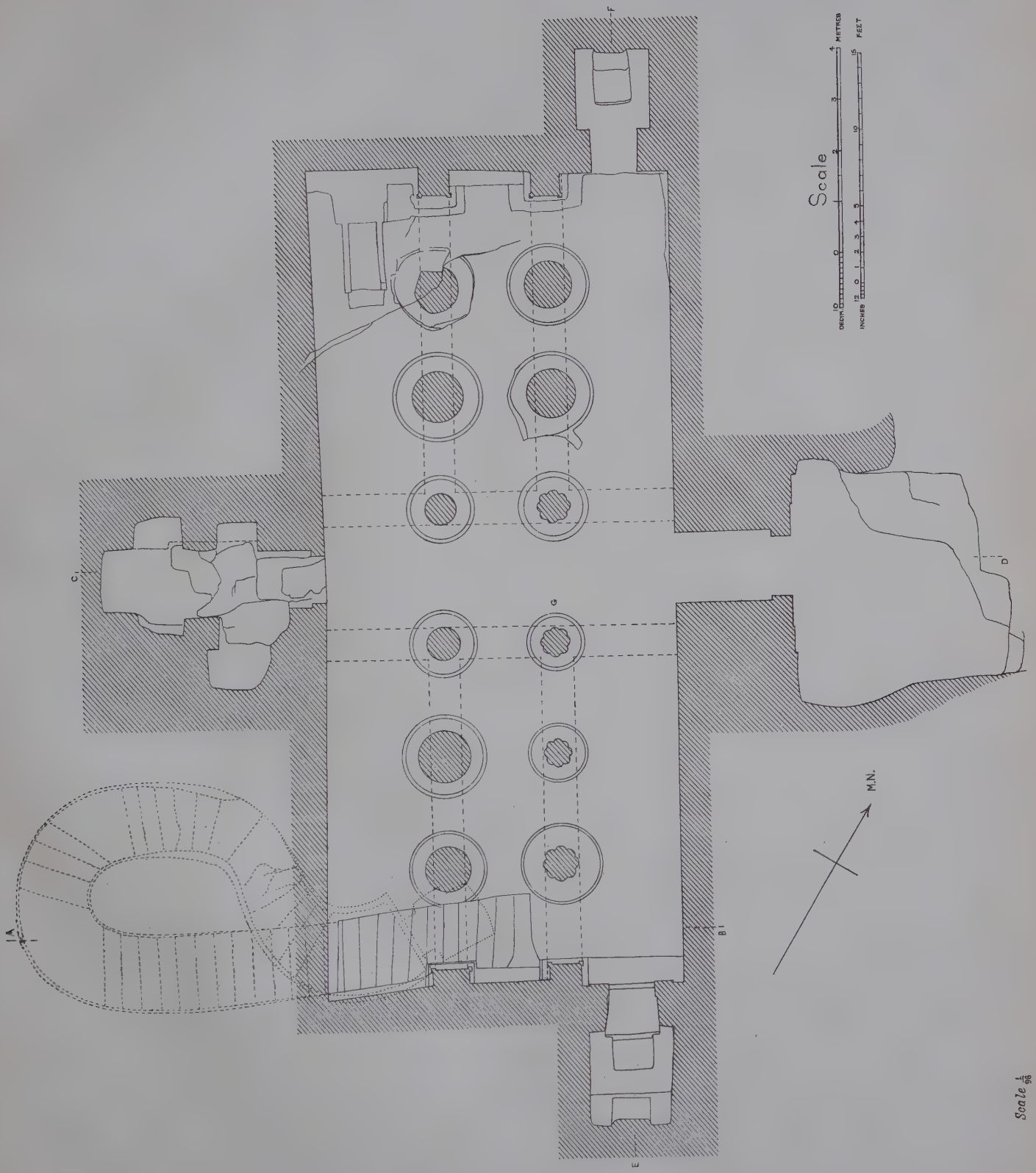

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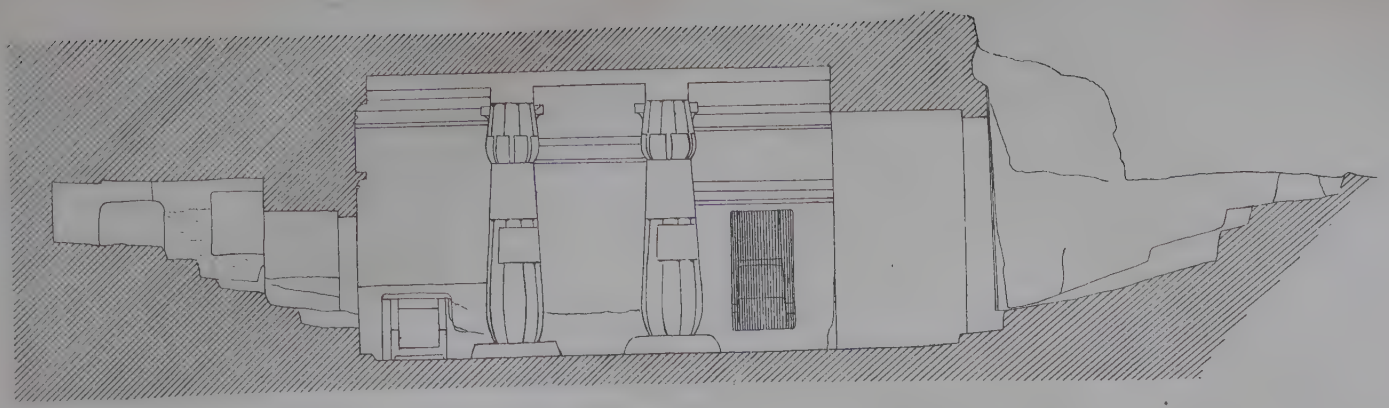
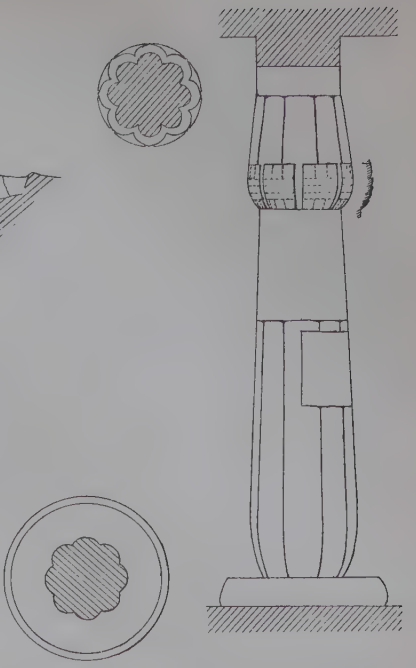
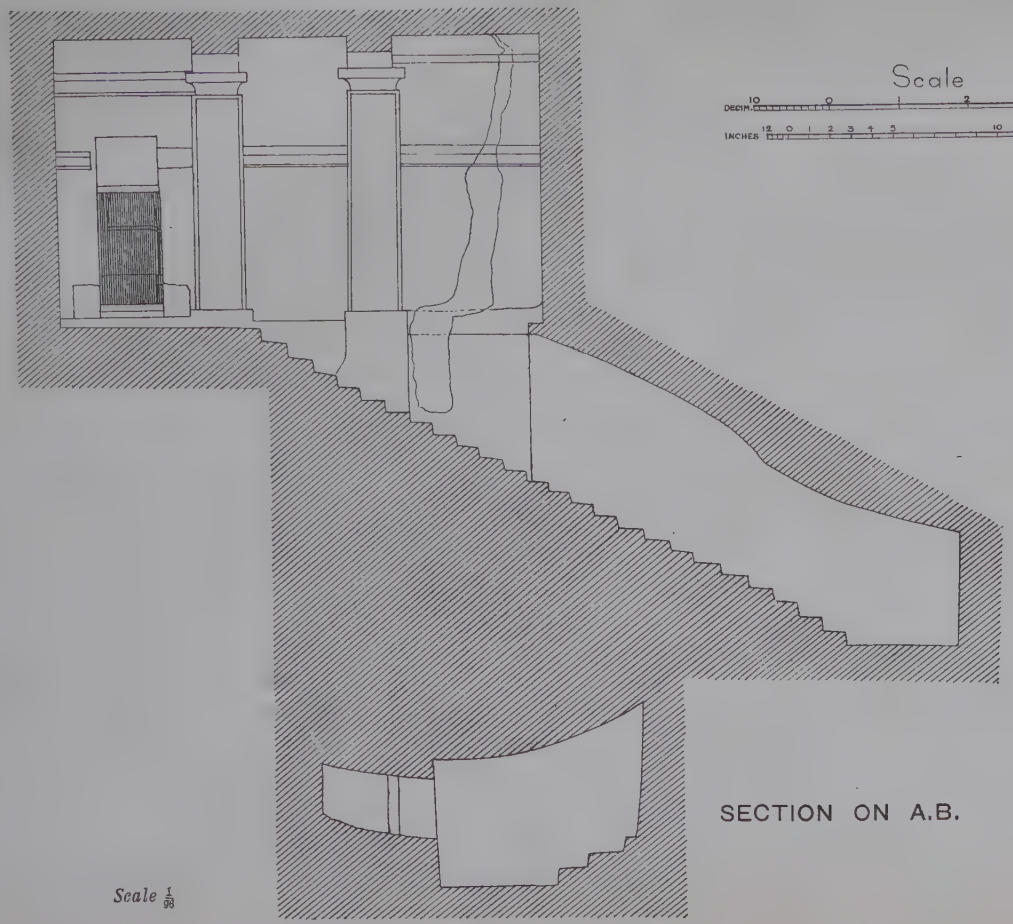


SECTION ON C.D.

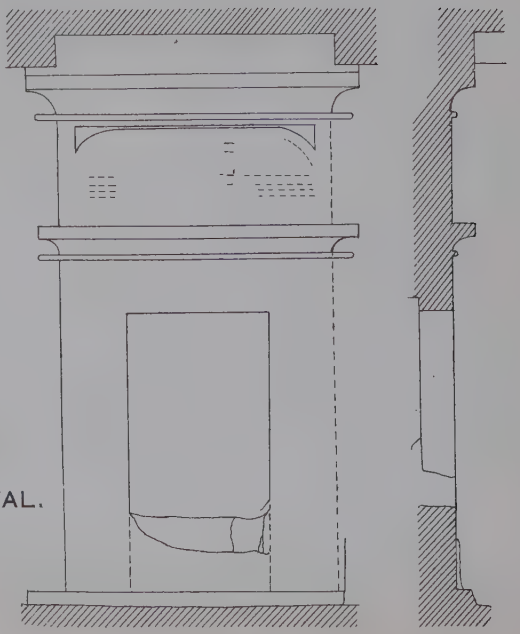


COLUMN G.—N.E. SIDE.



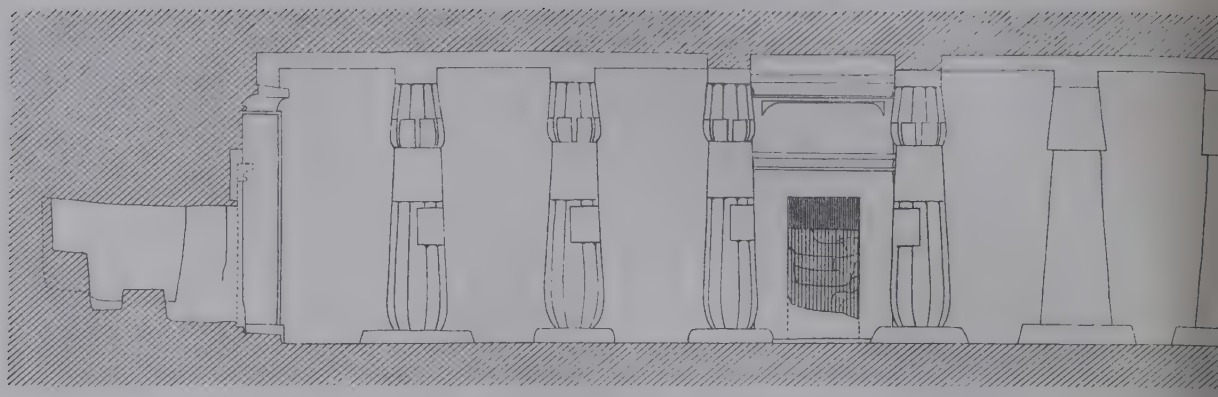
Scale 1/96

SECTION ON A.B.

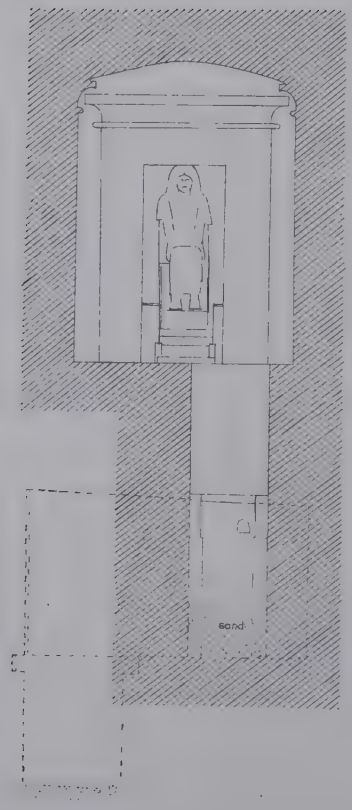


WEST PORTAL.

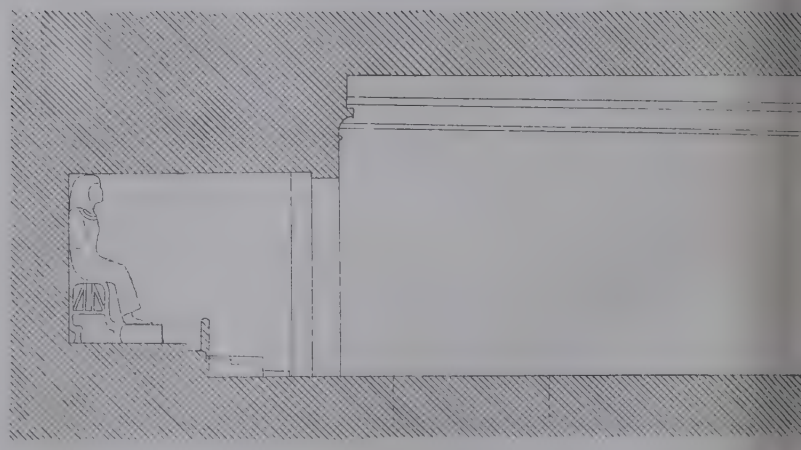
Scale 1/48

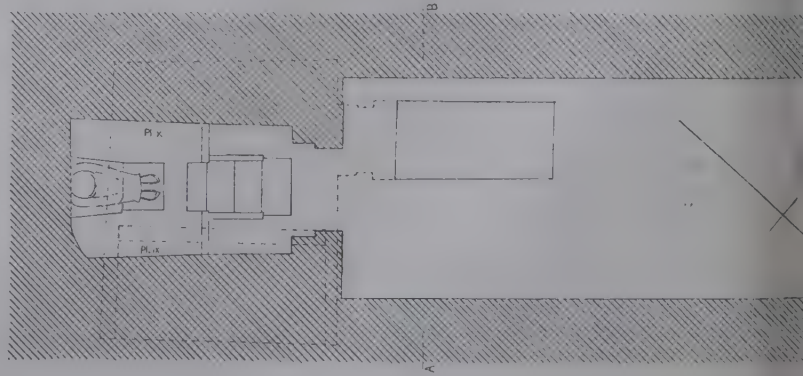


TOMB 16 - SECTION ON E.F.

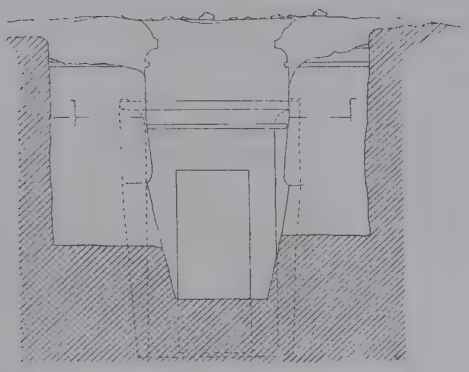


SECTION ON A.B.

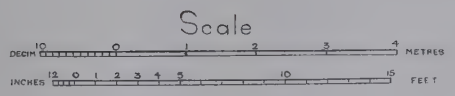


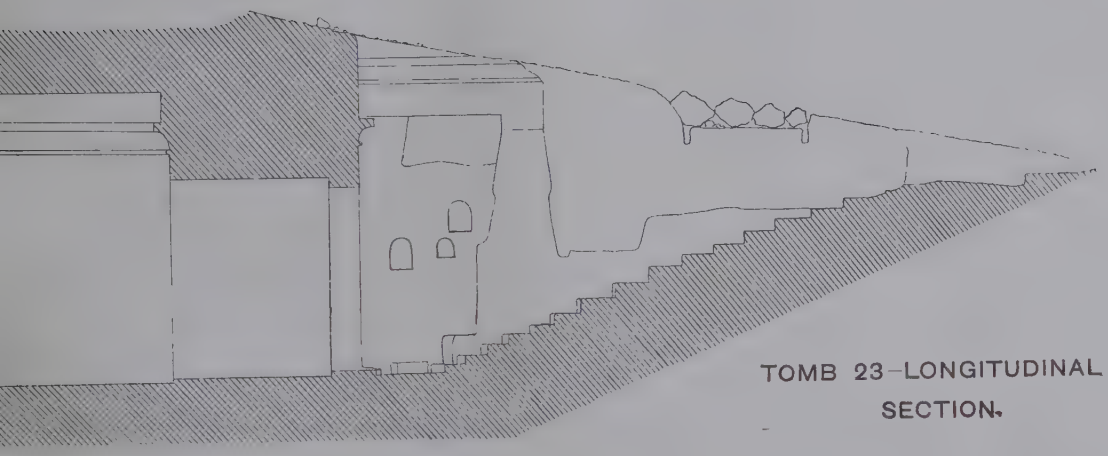


Scale $\frac{1}{96}$

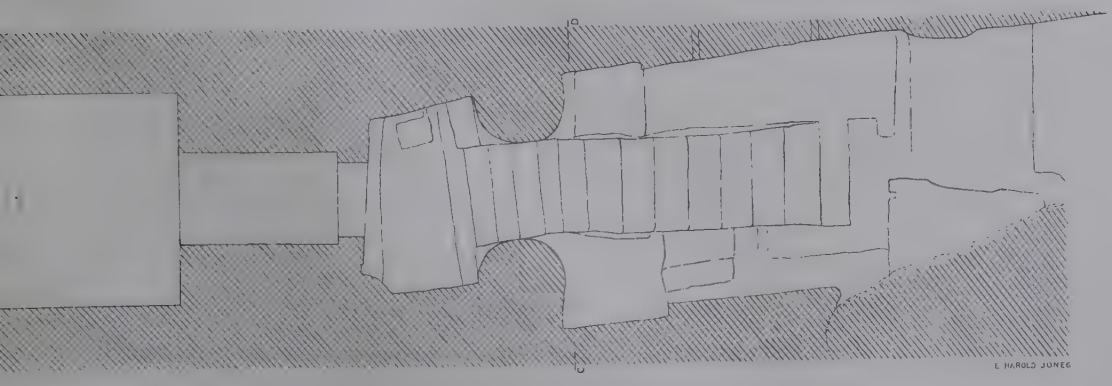


TOMB 23–SECTION ON C.D.





TOMB 23–LONGITUDINAL SECTION.



E. HAROLD JONES

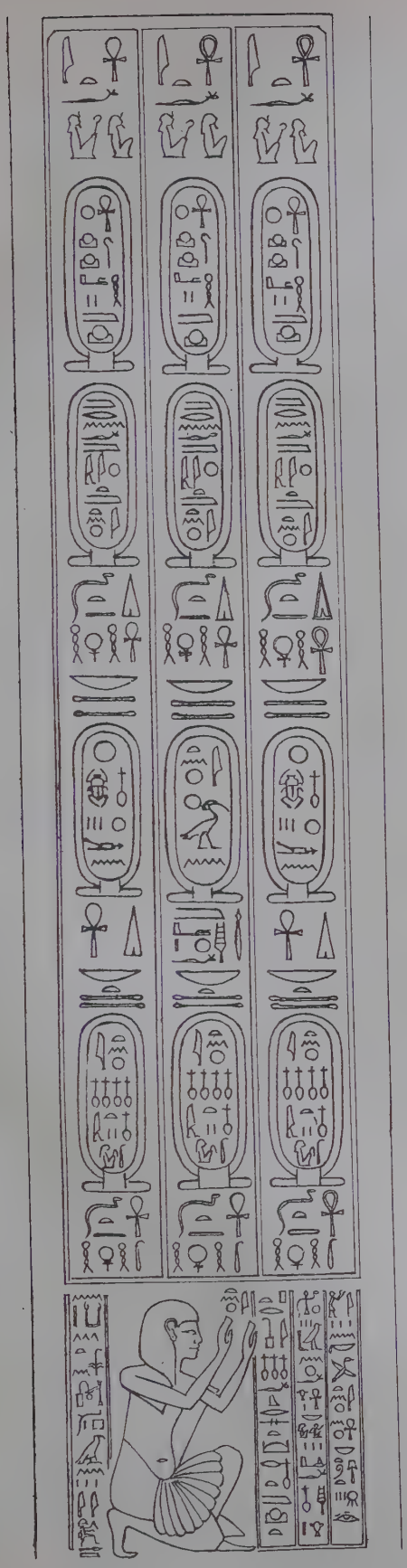
MB 23–PLAN.

SHRINE—LEFT WALL.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

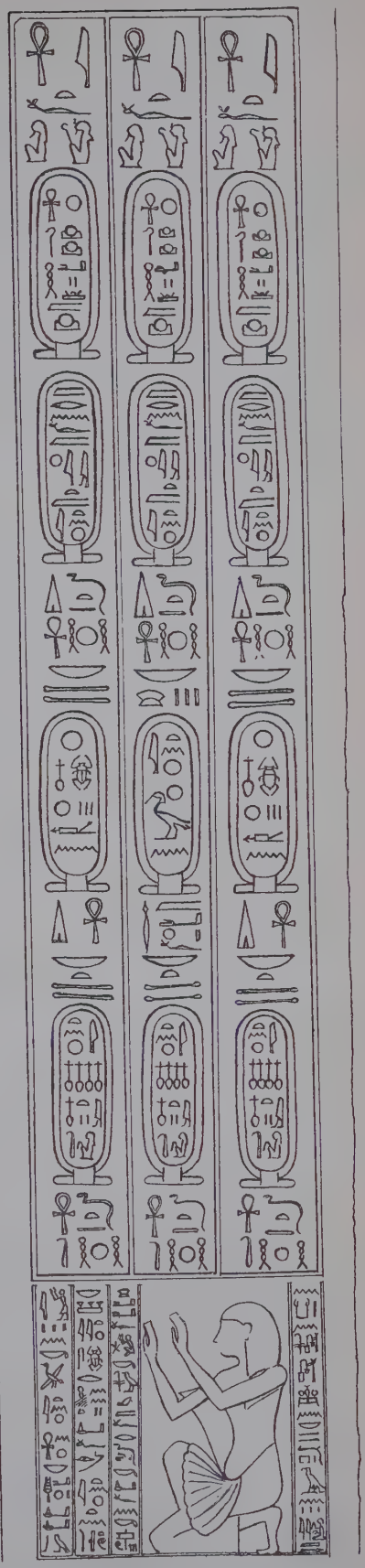
SHRINE—RIGHT WALL.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$



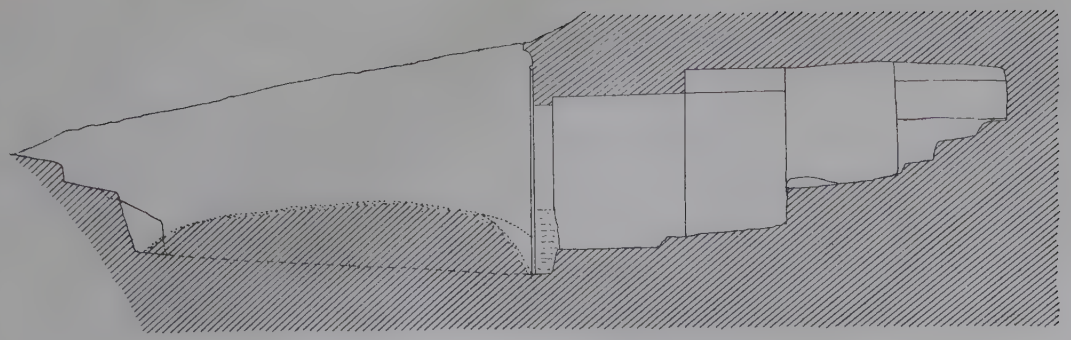
GRAFFITO.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

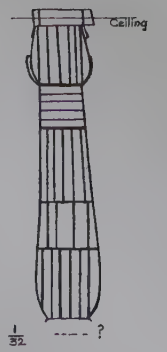


EXTERIOR. DOOR JAMBS.

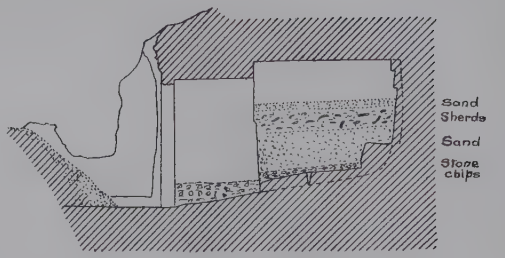
Scale $\frac{1}{9}$



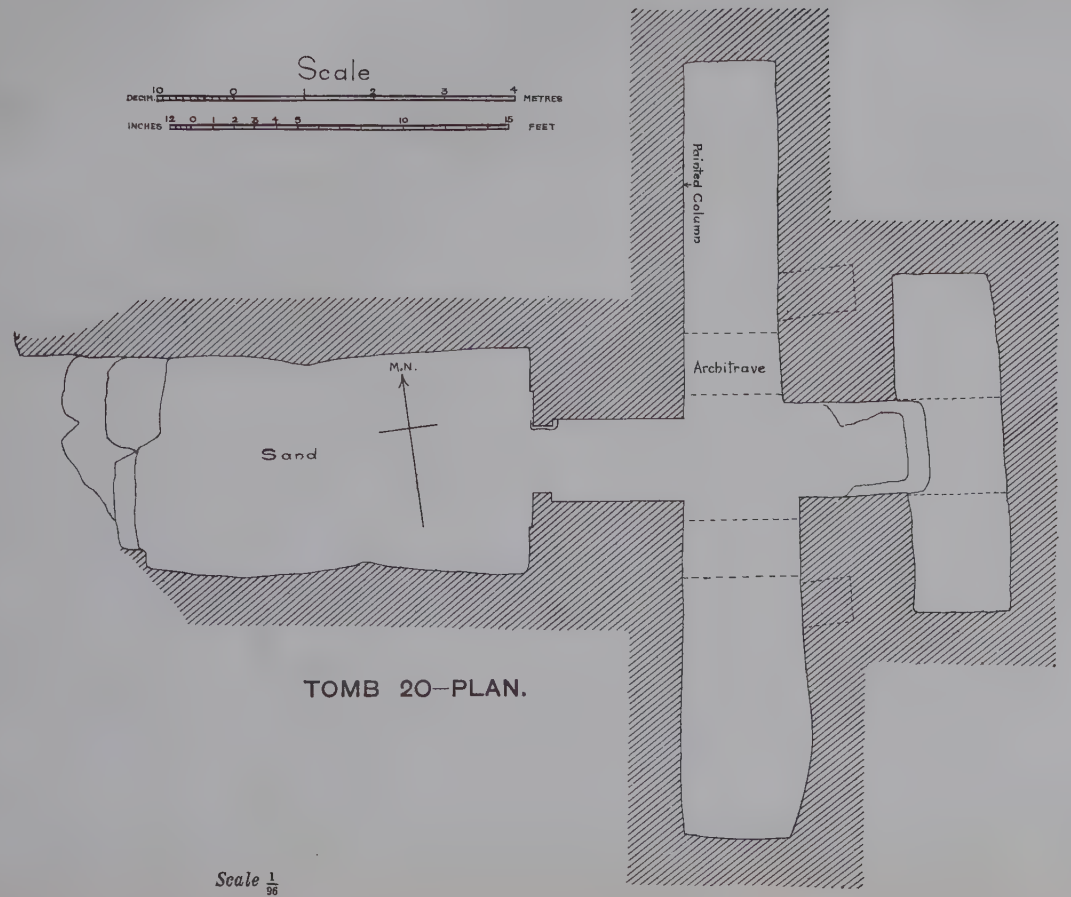
TOMB 20—SECTION.



COLUMN ON W. WALL.
(ink sketch).

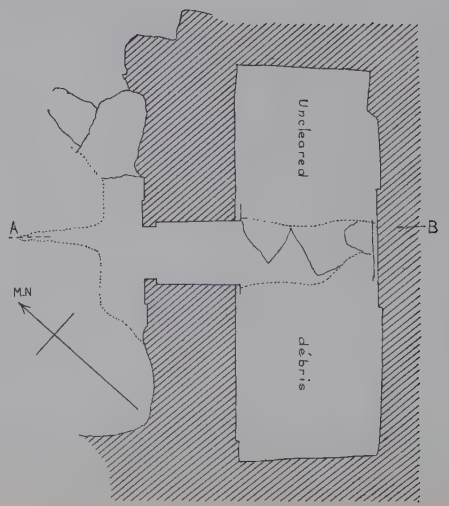


TOMB 17—SECTION ON A.B.



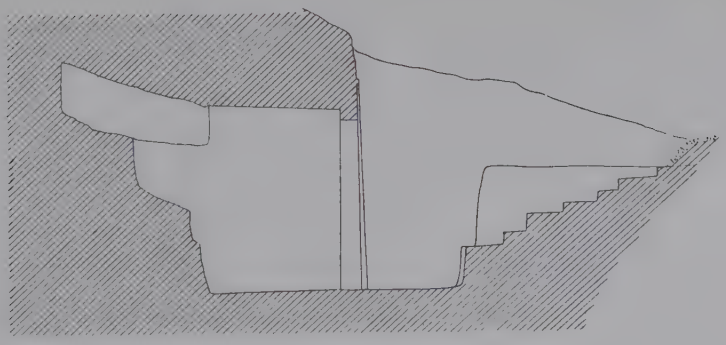
TOMB 20—PLAN.

Scale $\frac{1}{96}$

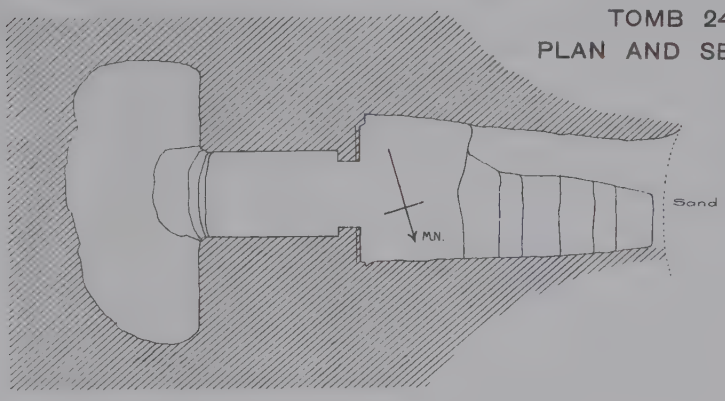


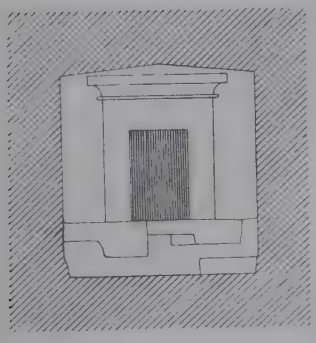
TOMB 17—PLAN.

TOMB 24–INSCRIPTION ON LEFT JAMB.
(now erased.)

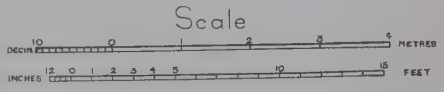


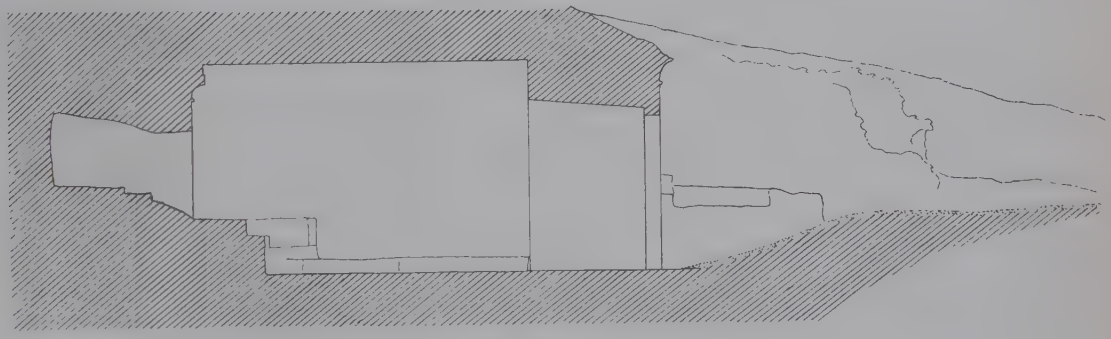
TOMB 24–
PLAN AND SECTION.



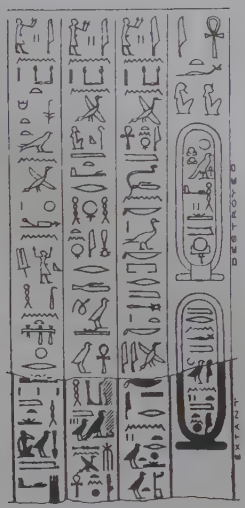


TOMB 18–
SECTION ON C.D.

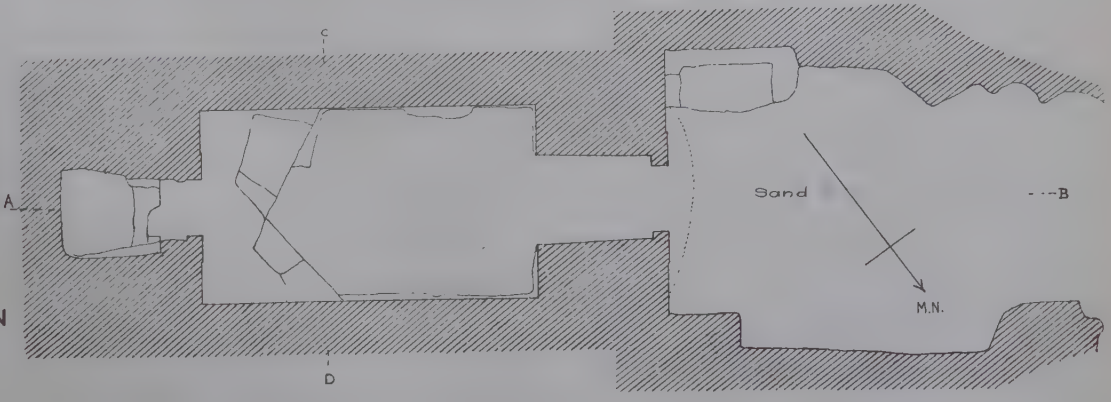




SECTION ON A.B.

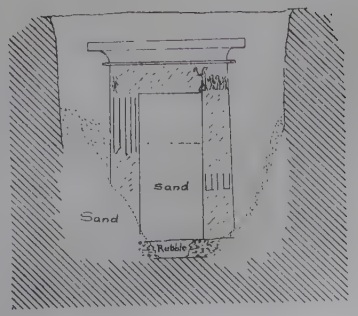


TOMB 18–INSCRIPTION ON LEFT JAMB

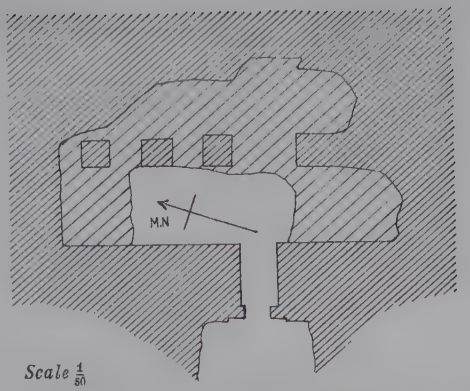


TOMB 18–PLAN.

Scale $\frac{1}{50}$

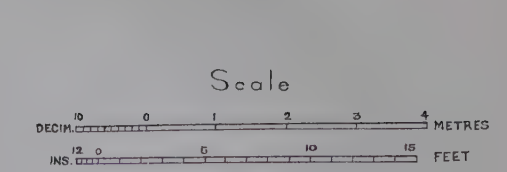


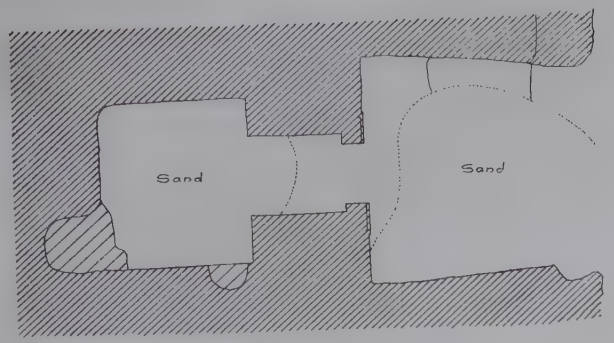
TOMB 25A—ELEVATION.



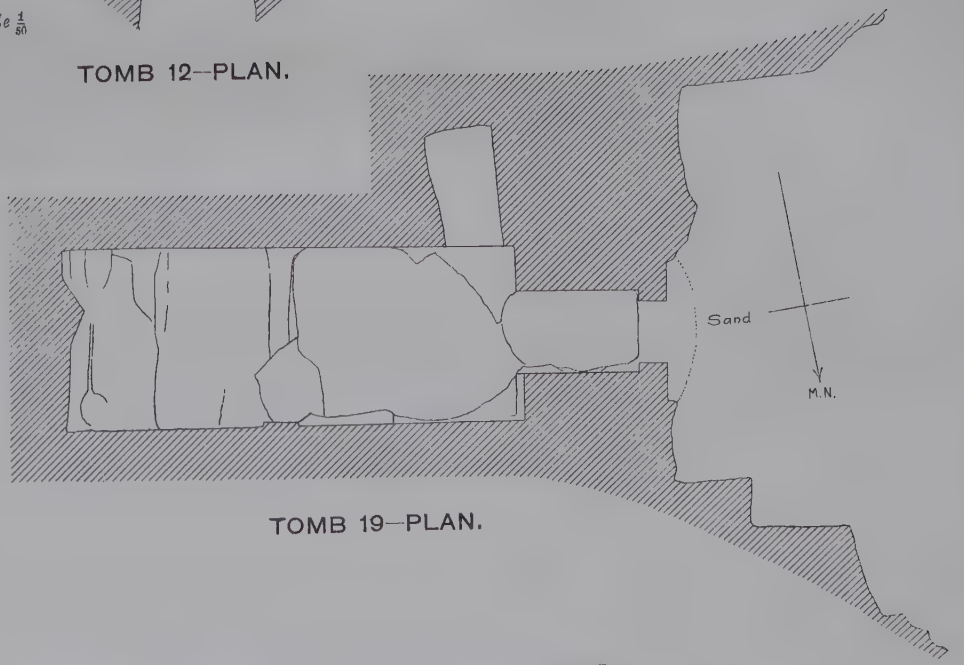
Scale $\frac{1}{50}$

TOMB 12—PLAN.

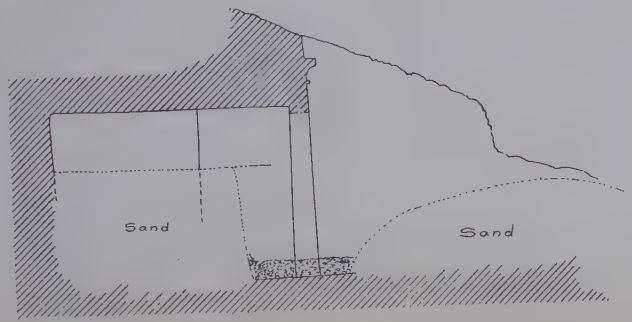




TOMB 25A—PLAN.

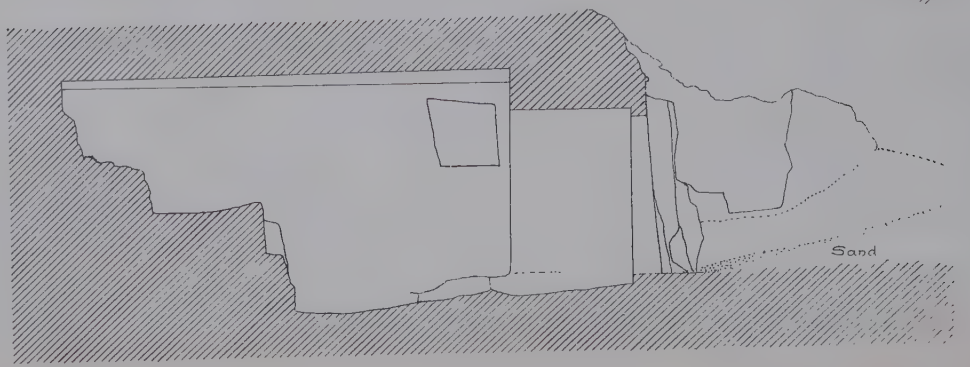


TOMB 19—PLAN.

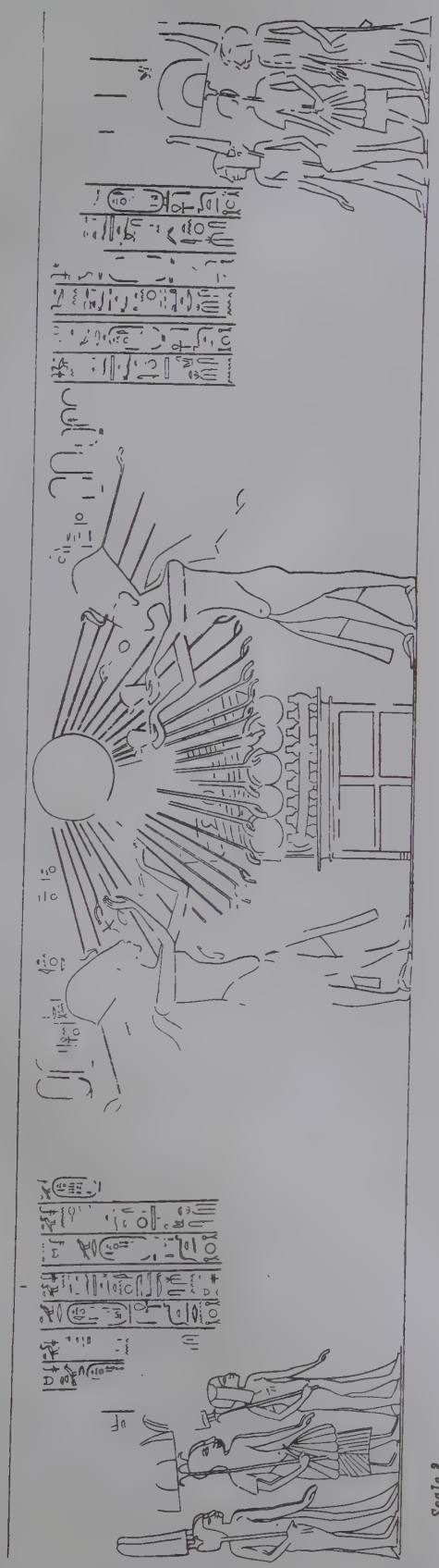


Scale $\frac{1}{96}$

TOMB 25A—SECTION.

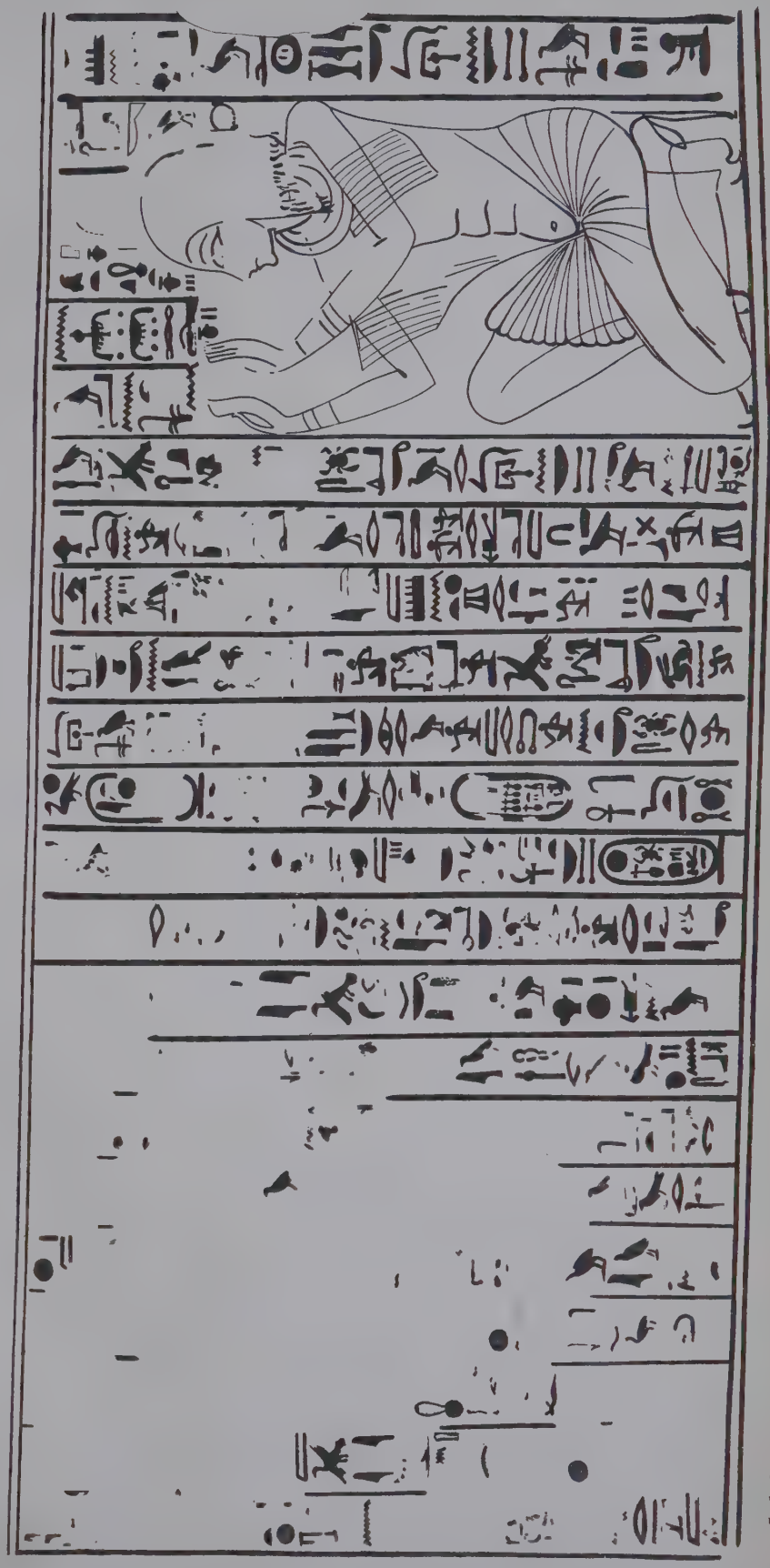


LONGITUDINAL SECTION.



TOMB 20—LINTEL.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

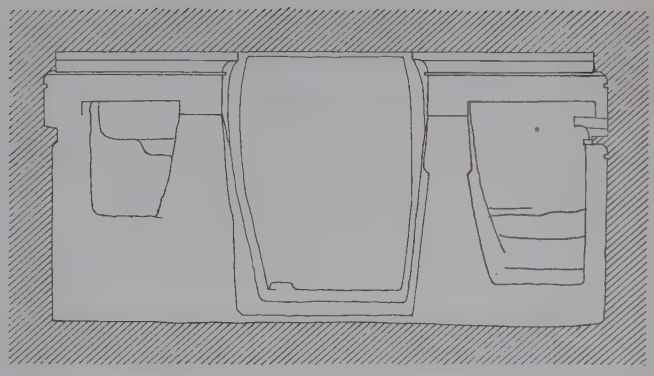


SUTAU—N. THICKNESS.

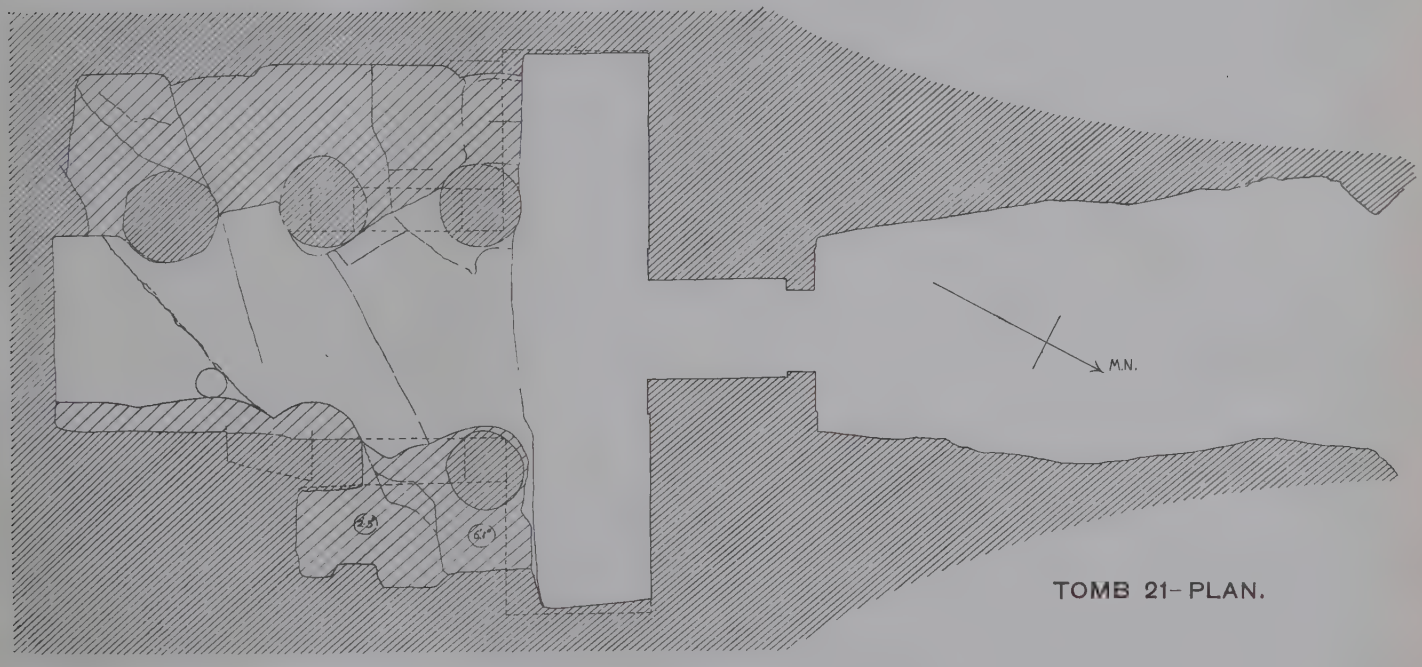
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

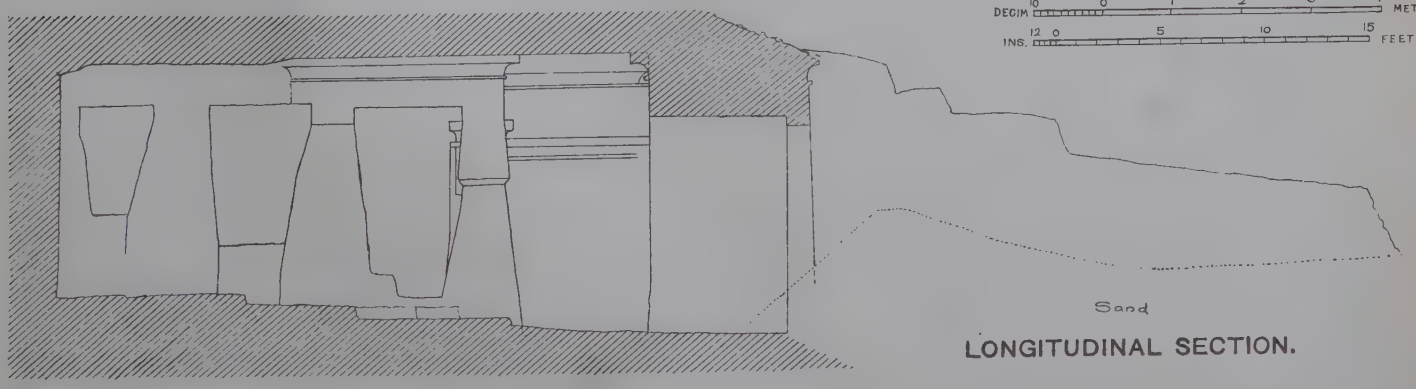
TOMB 22—LINTEL.



TRANSVERSE SECTION.

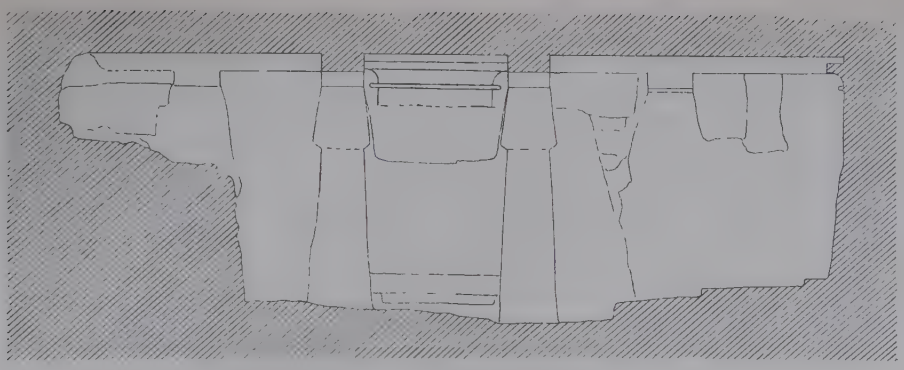


TOMB 21—PLAN.

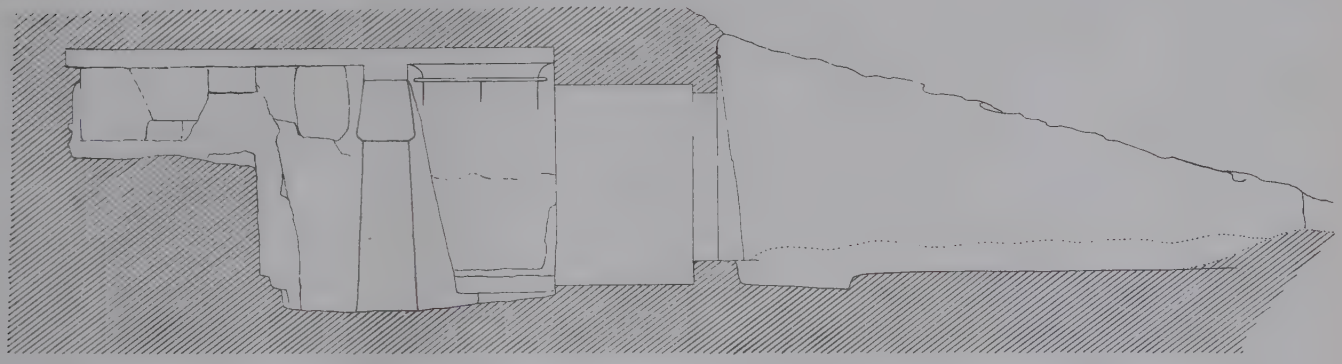


LONGITUDINAL SECTION.

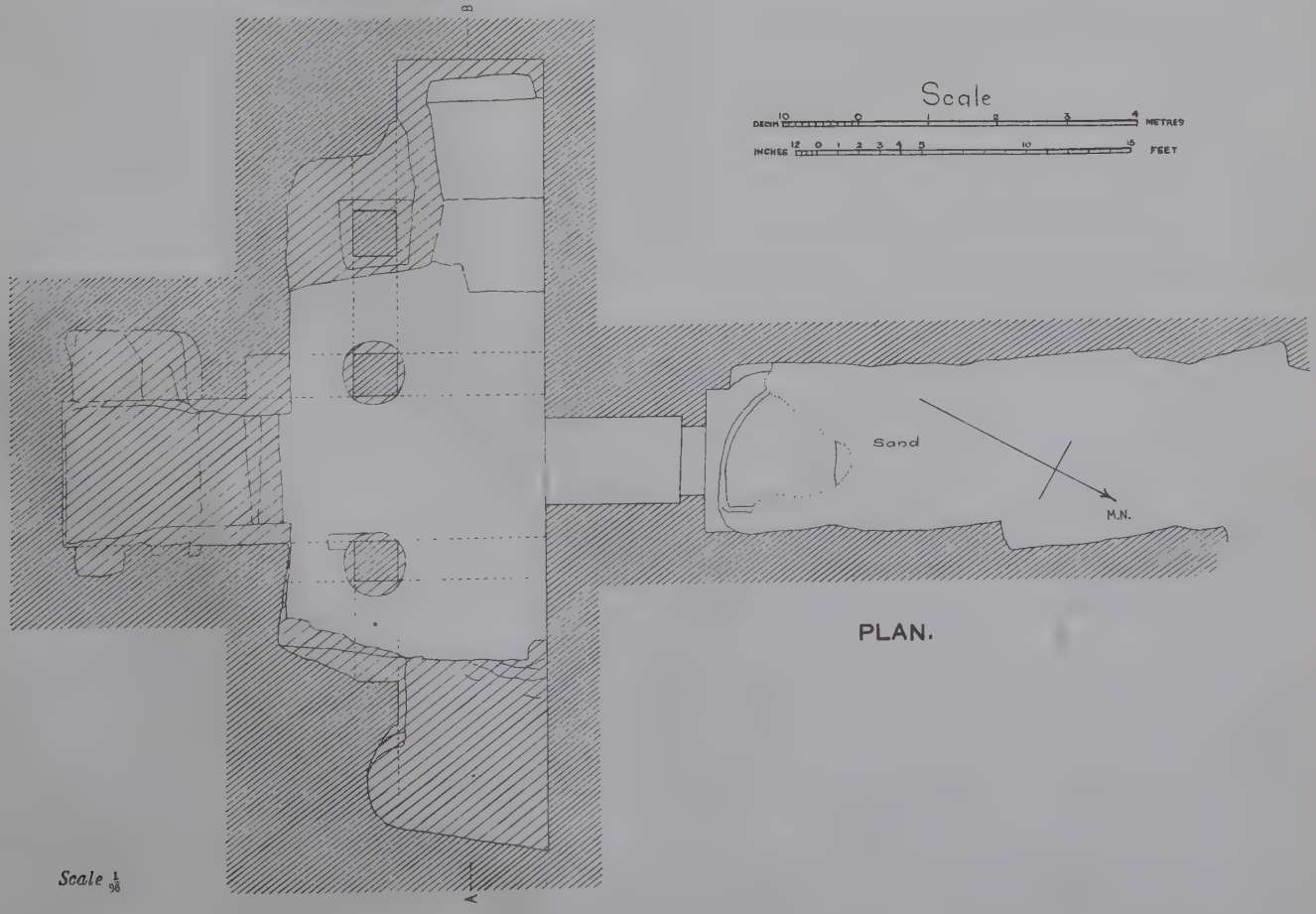
Scale $\frac{1}{96}$



SECTION ON A.B.

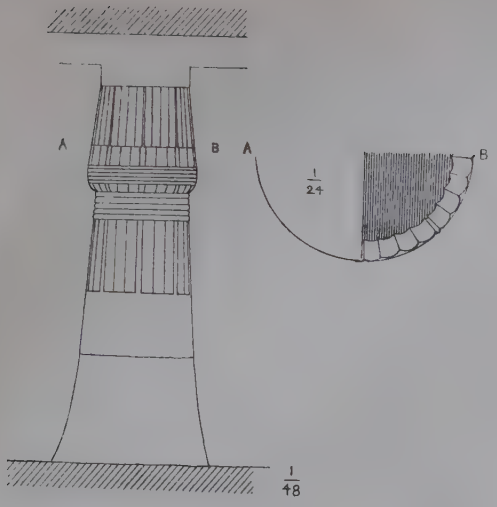


TRANSVERSE SECTION.

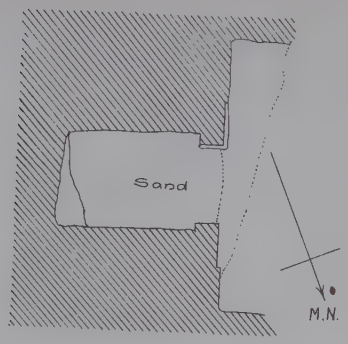


PLAN.

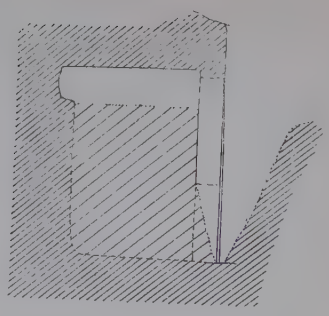
Scale $\frac{1}{96}$



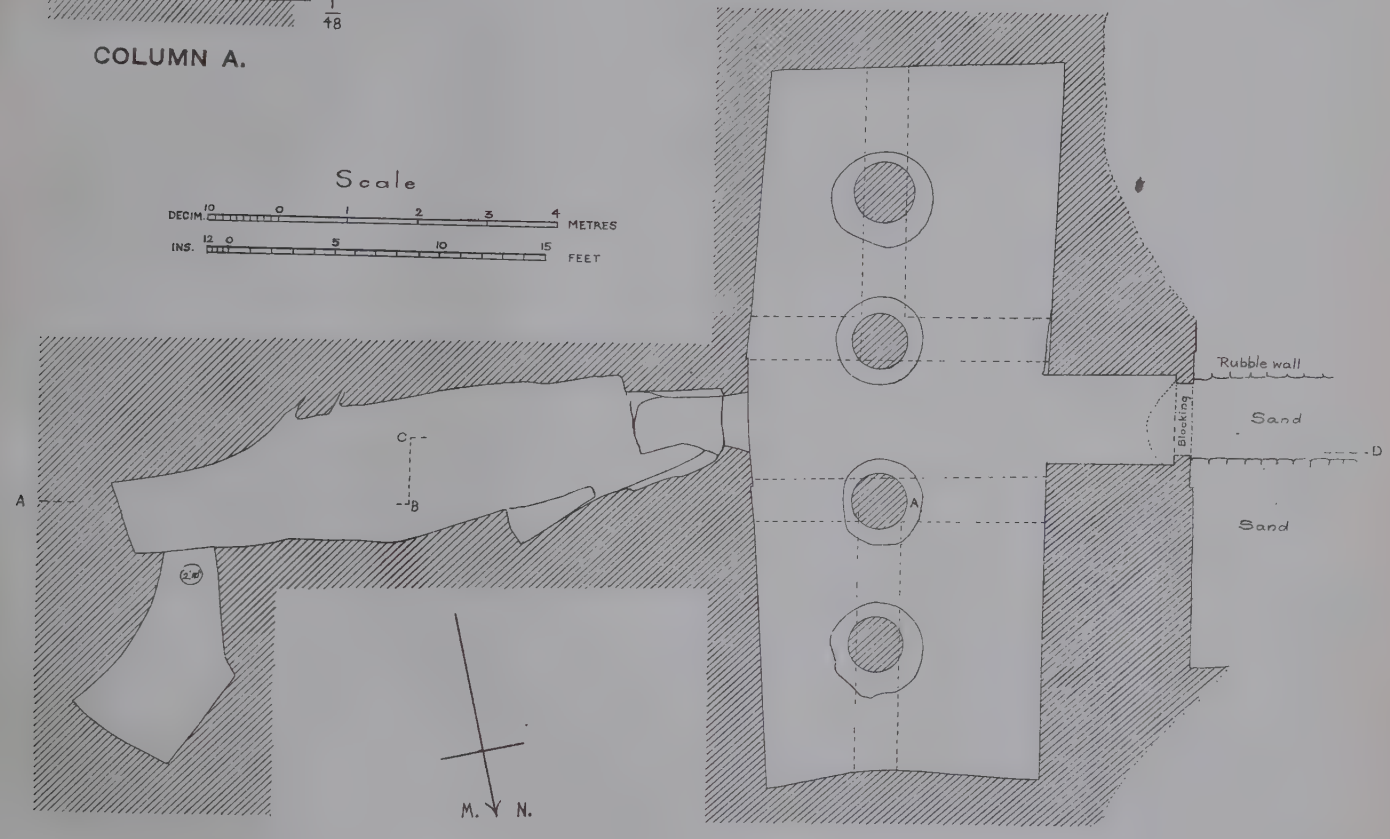
COLUMN A.



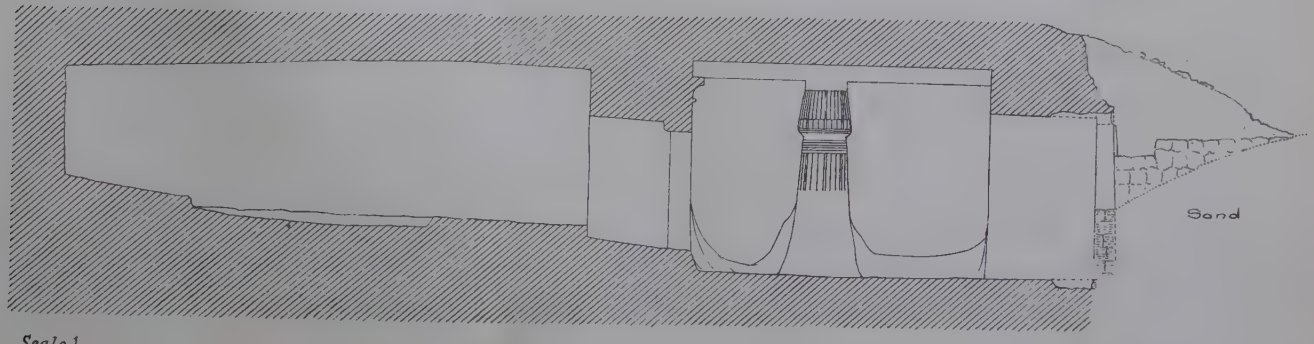
TOMB 24A—PLAN.



SECTION.



TOMB 7c—PLAN.



Scale 1/96

SECTION ON A. B. C. D.

SITE OF TOMBS 14-22

PRAYER OF MAŸ

THE SHRINE

ANY *(W. Thickness)*

STELA OF NEBWAWI

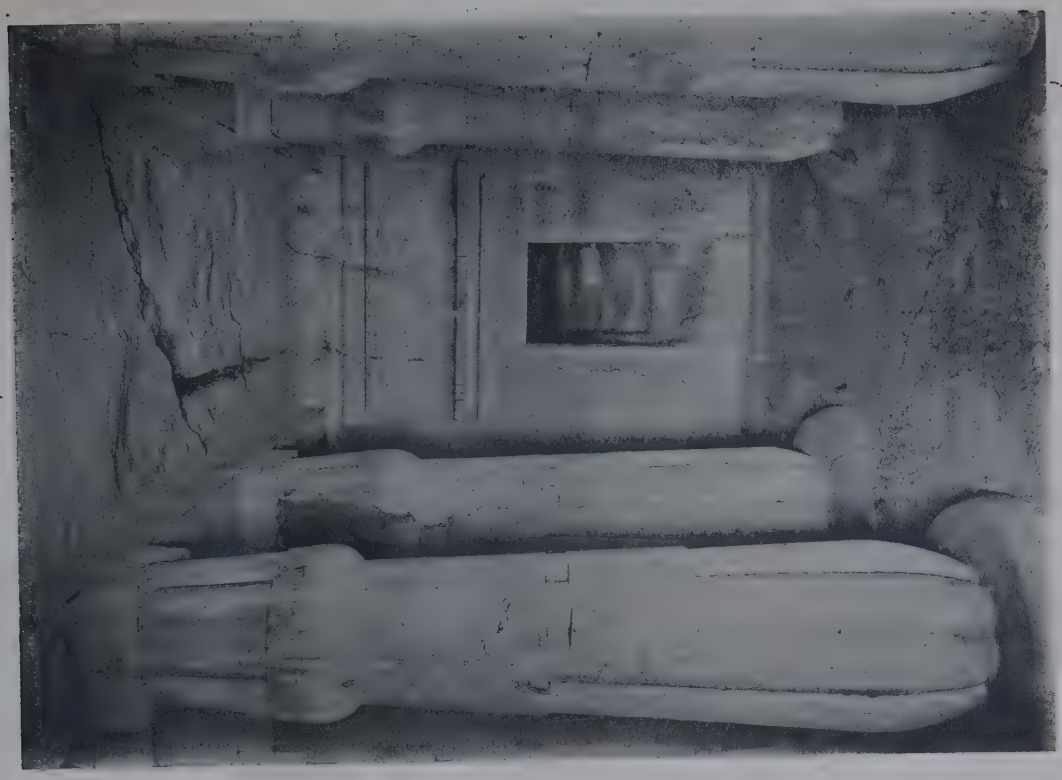
STELA OF PAKHA

STELA OF THAŸ

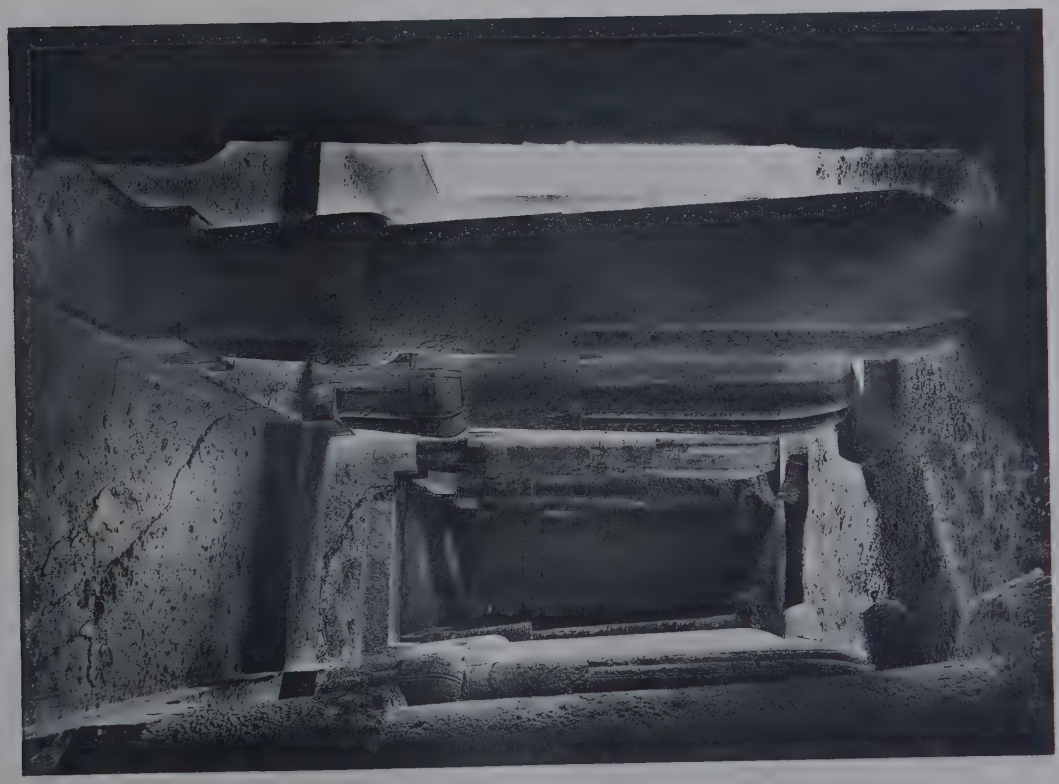
STELA OF ANY-MEN

STELA OF AŸ

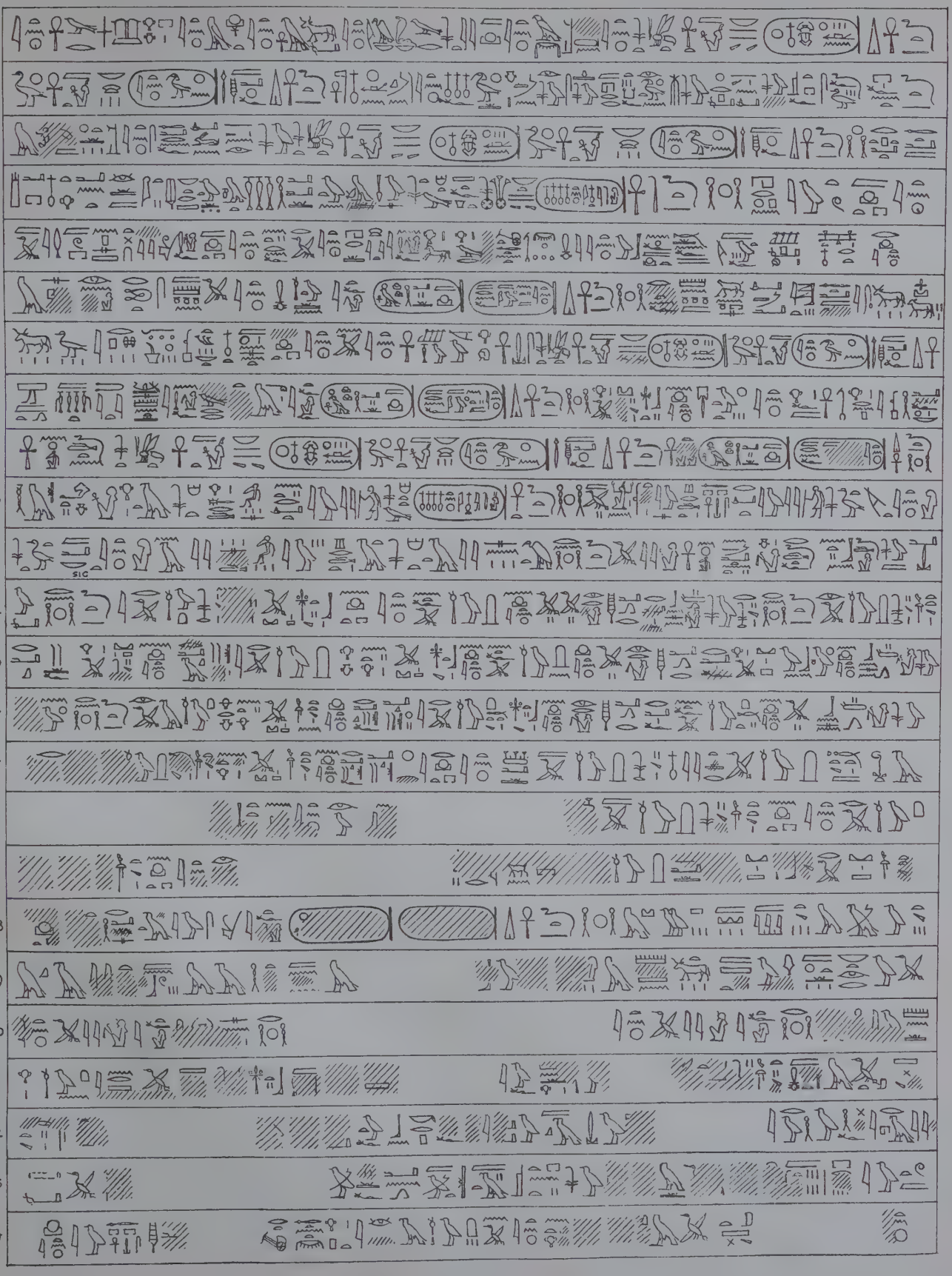
STELA OF PTAH-MAŸ (?)



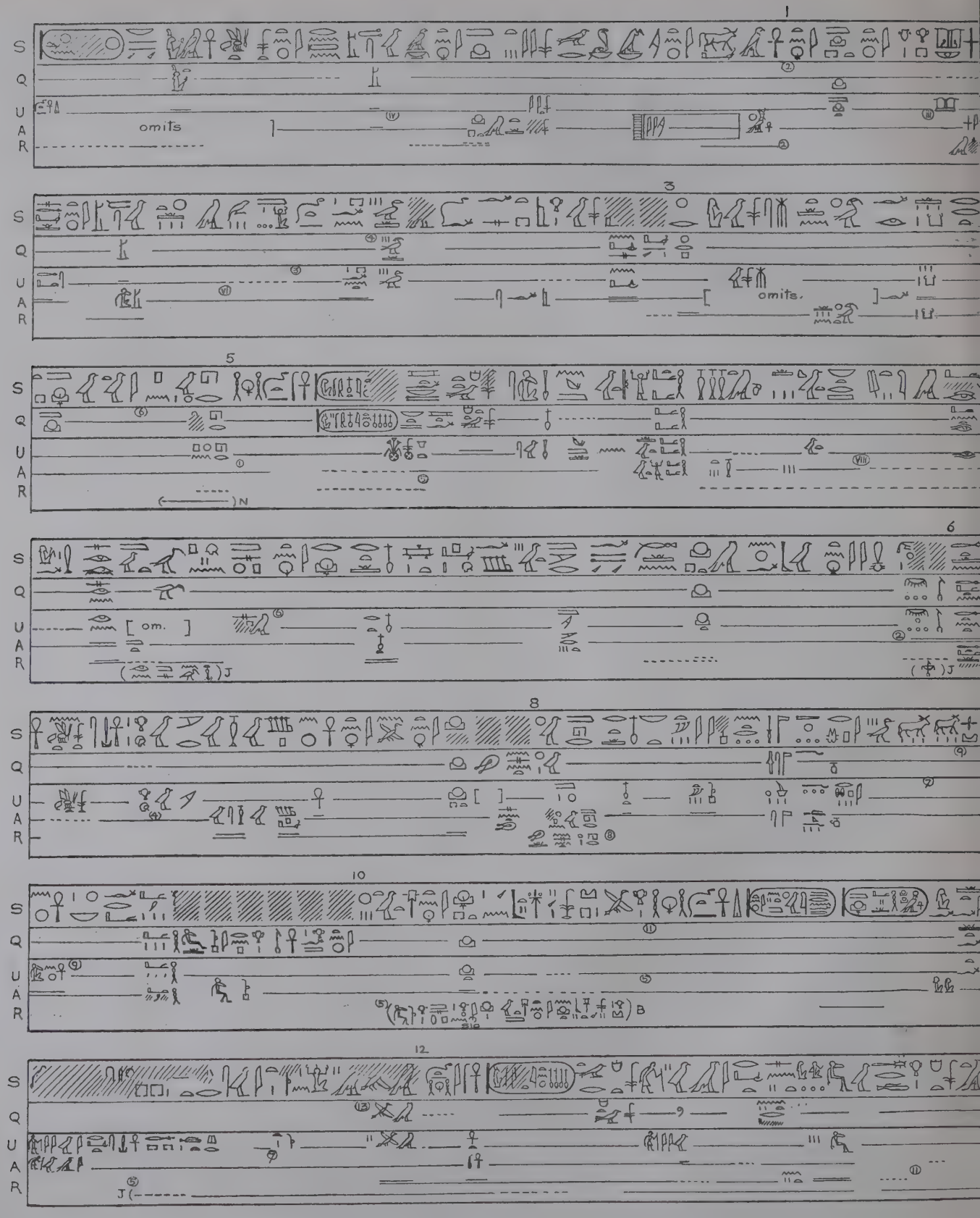
CENTRAL AISLE



TRANSVERSE AISLE



Scale 1/8


1
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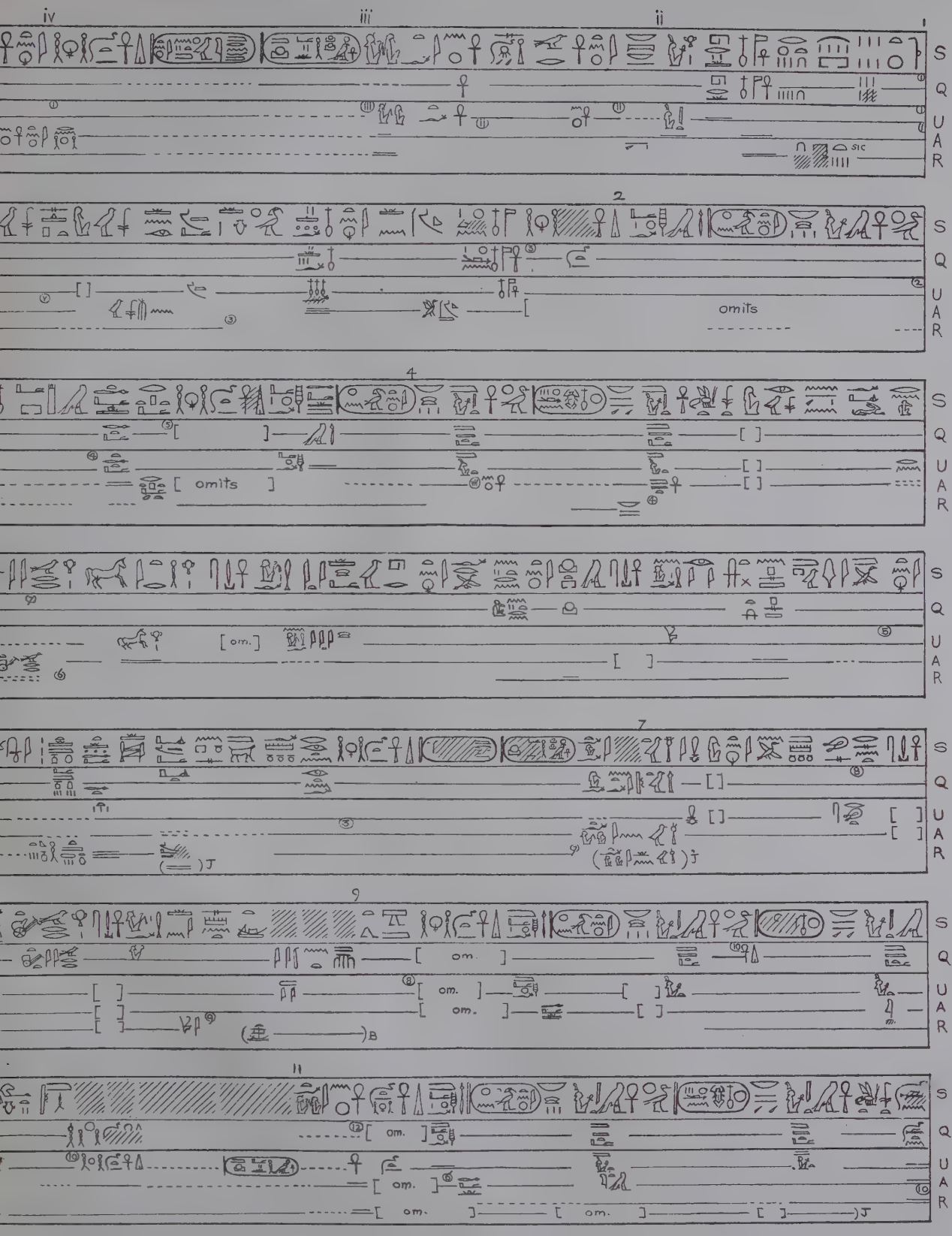
12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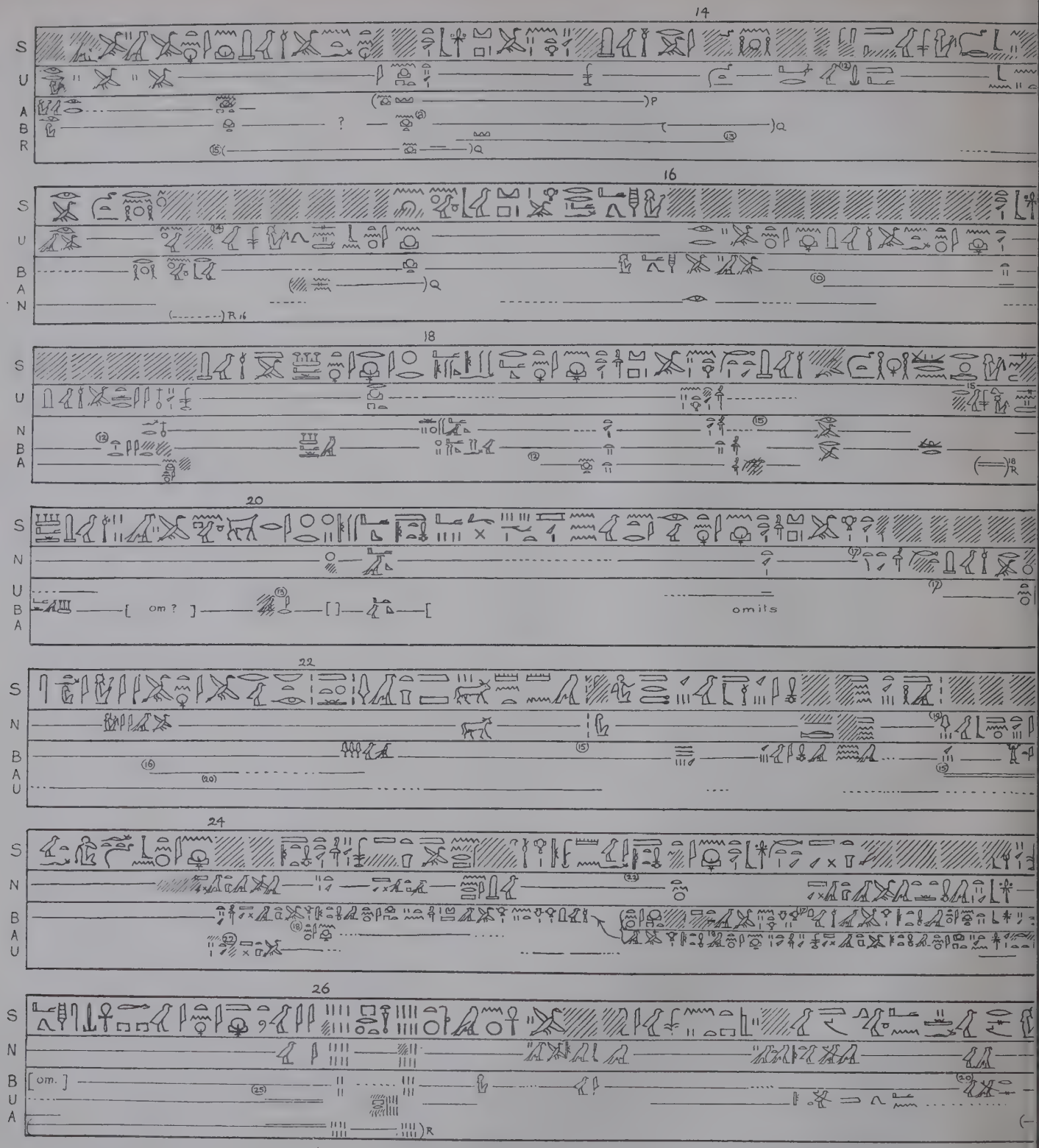
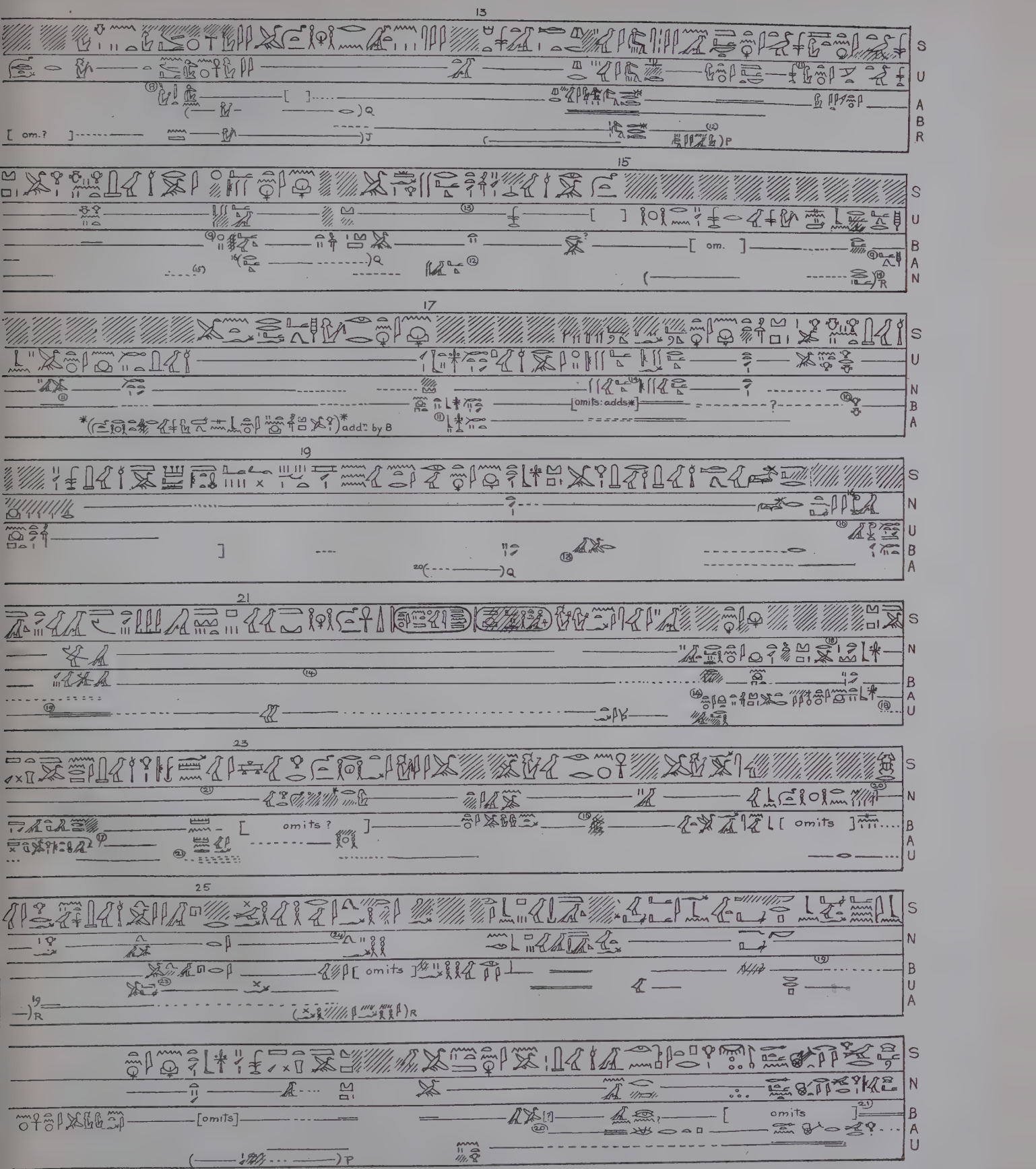
sic



NOTE: Agreement with text S is indicated by a single line
Agreement with first or second variants is shewn by double or treble lines
Omissions from text S amounting to a full word are bracketed; otherwise left blank.
Lacunae amounting to a full word are left blank; otherwise, hatched.
Probable agreement is shewn by broken lines.


13
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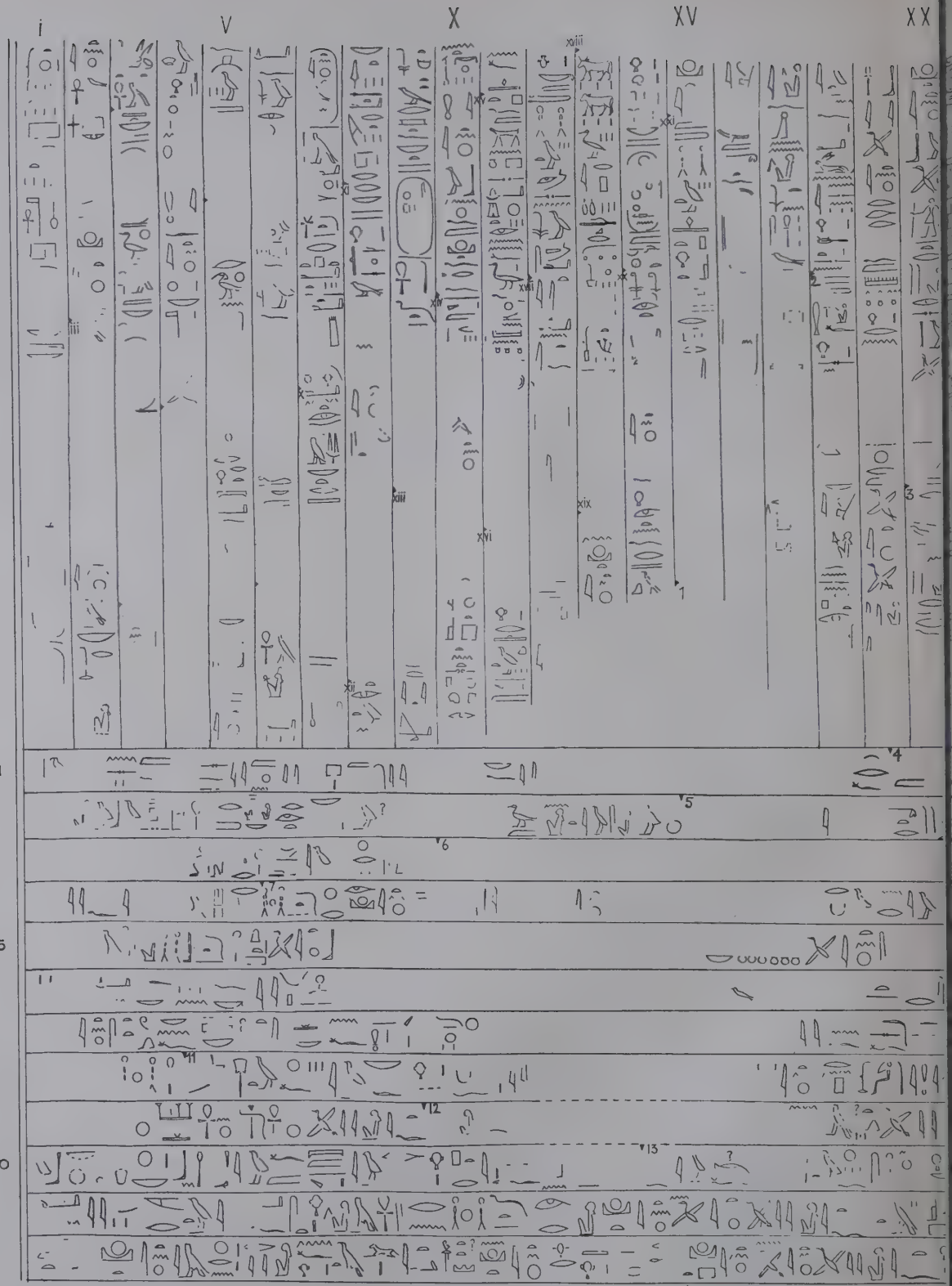

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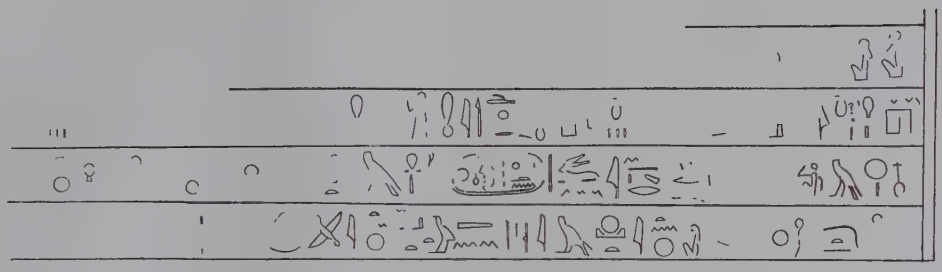
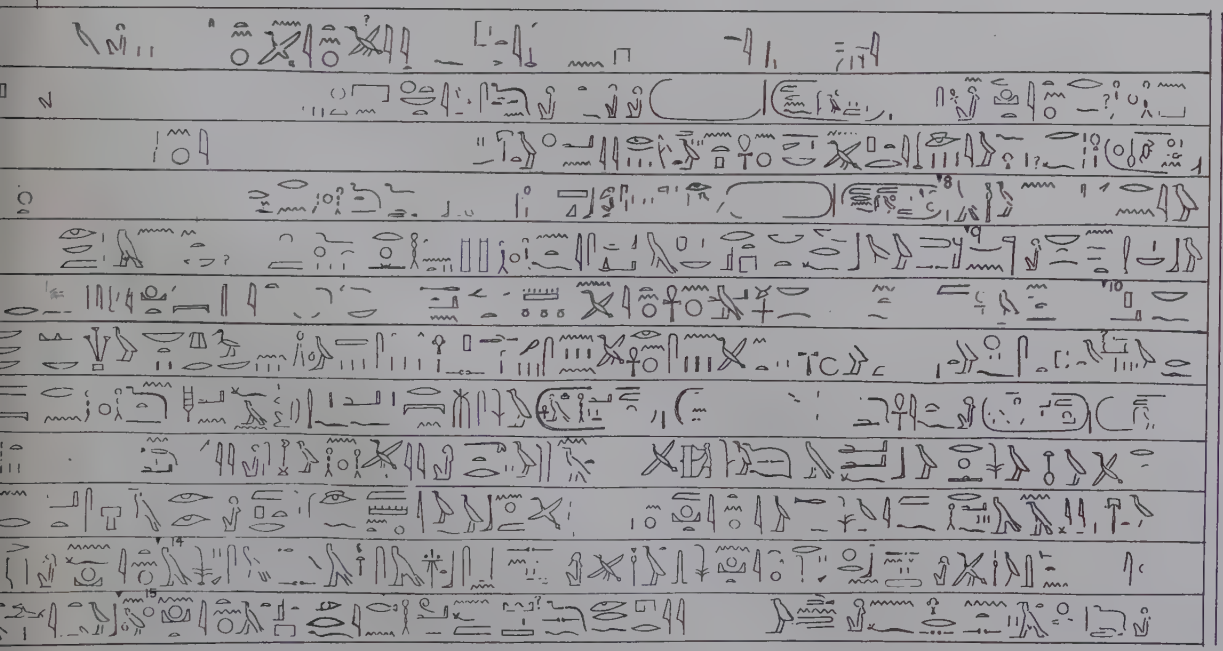
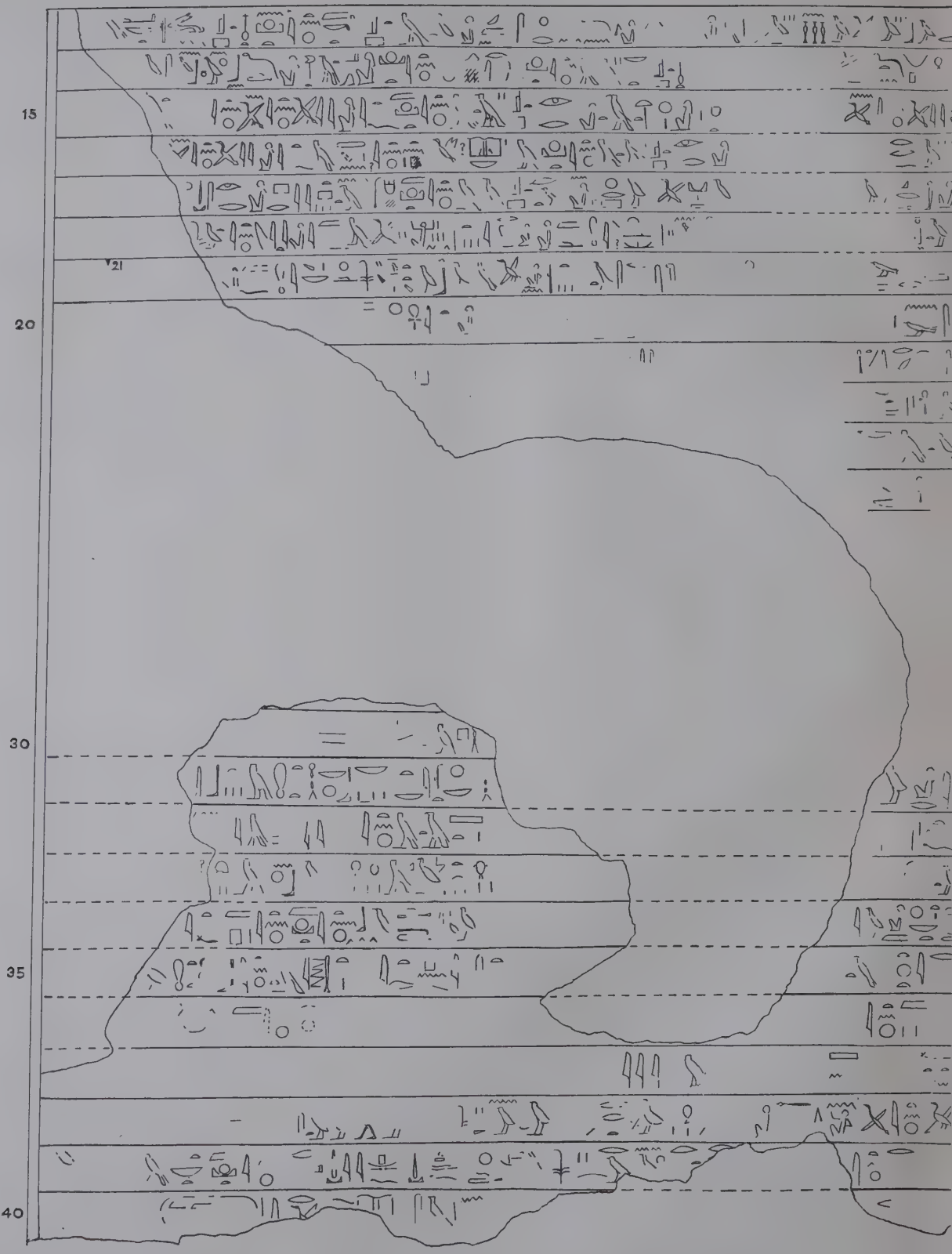


CONCLUDING LINES (77-80?)





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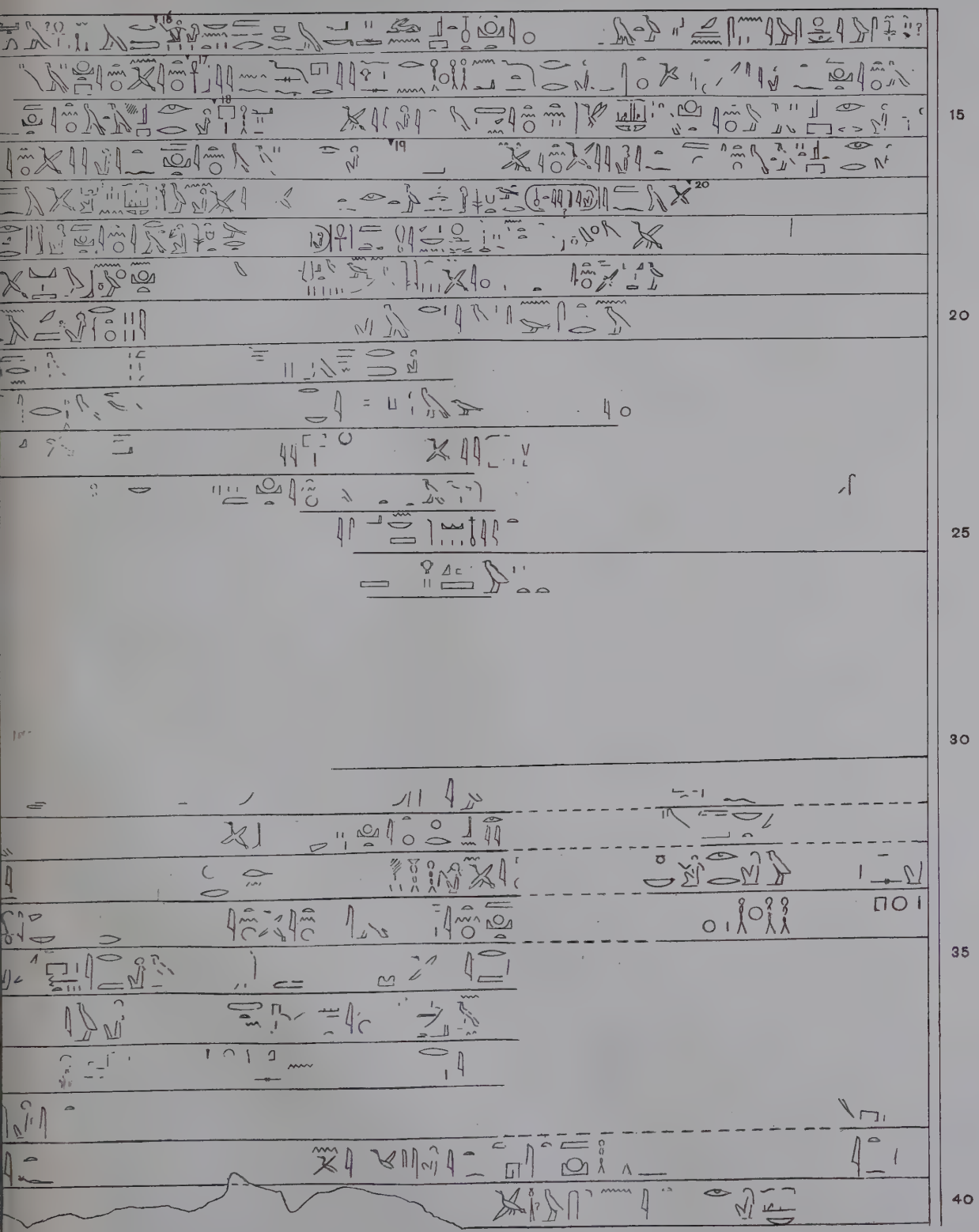
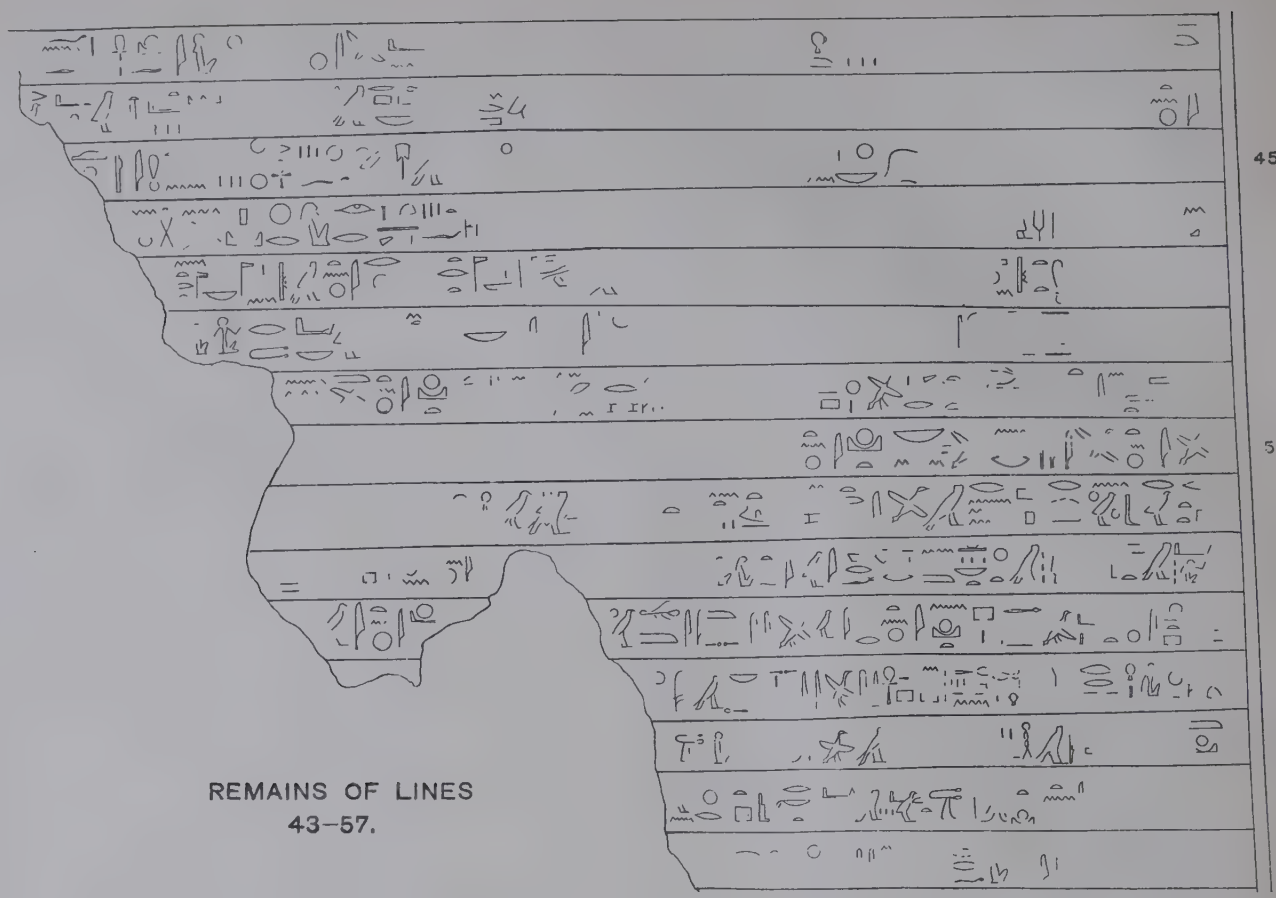
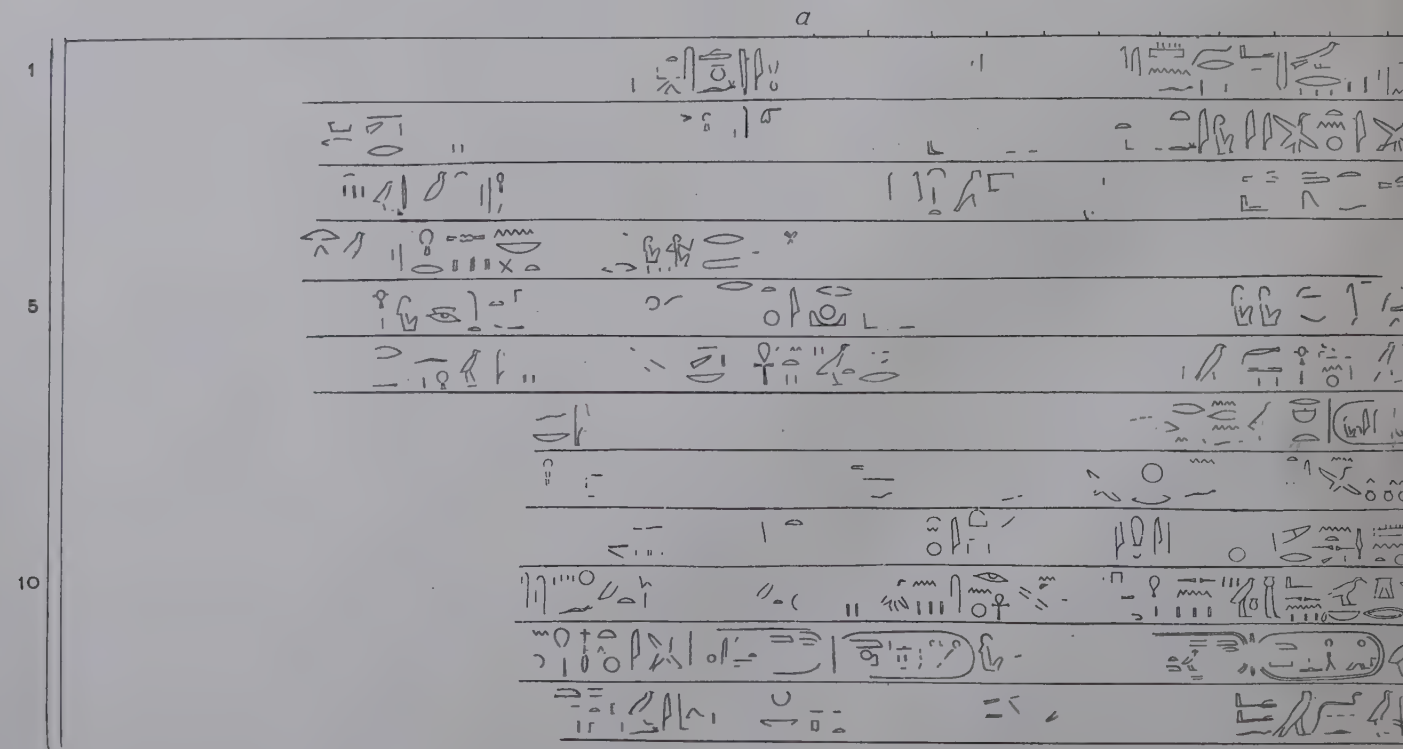




REMAINS OF LINES
43–57.



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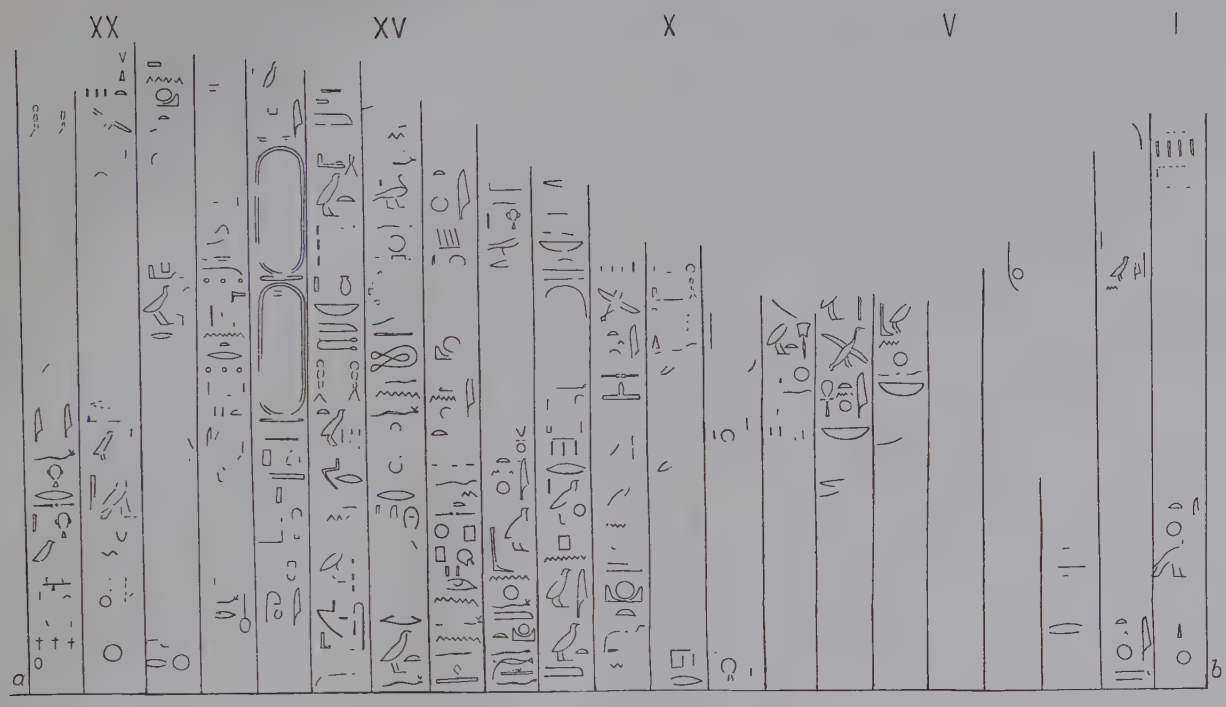
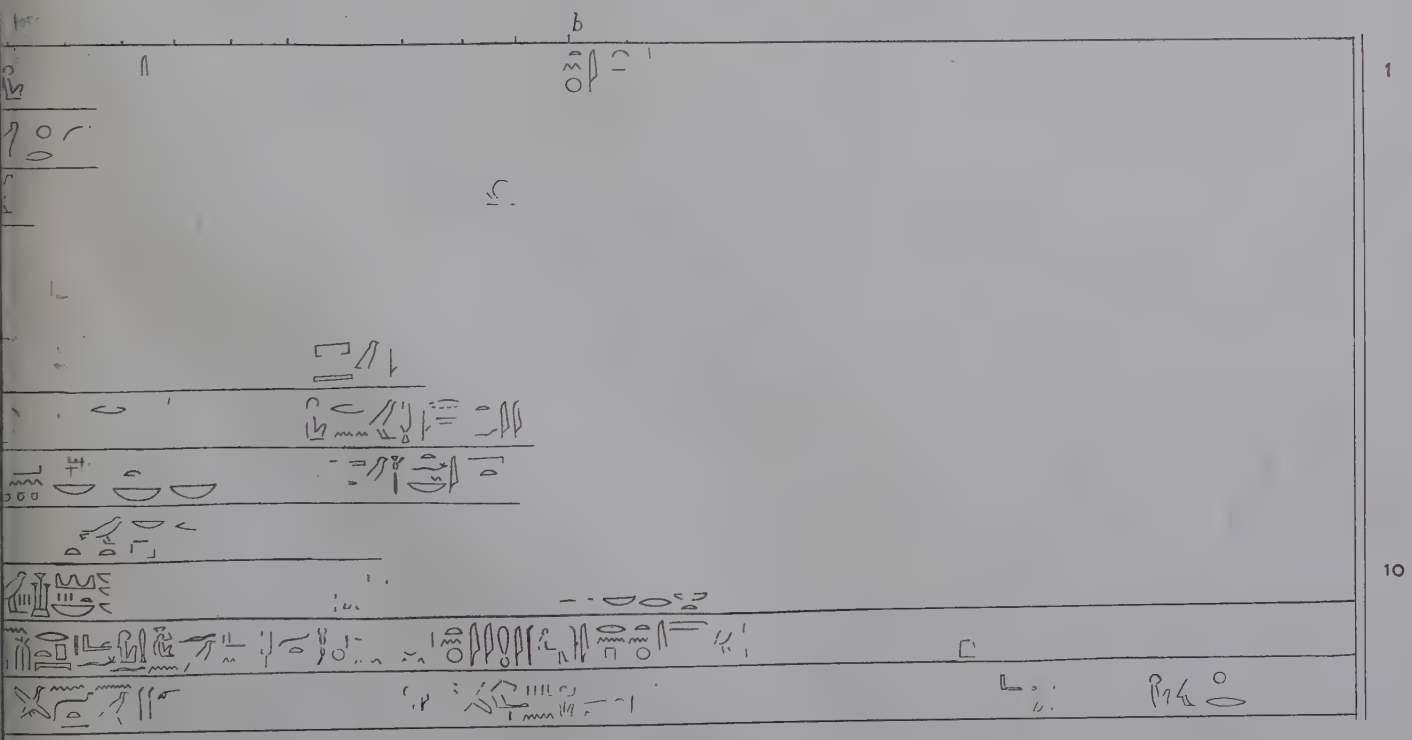
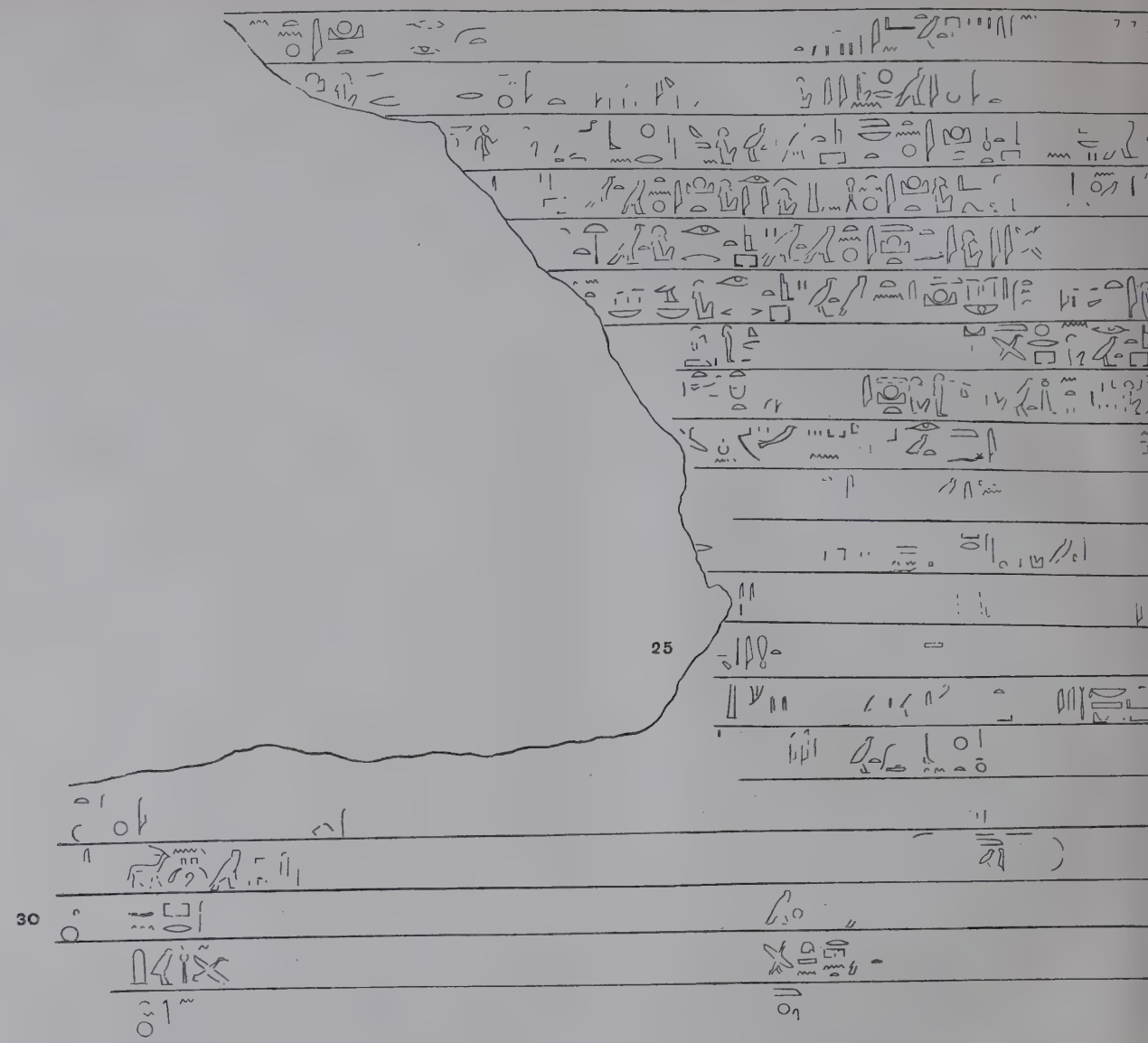


VERTICAL COLUMNS.





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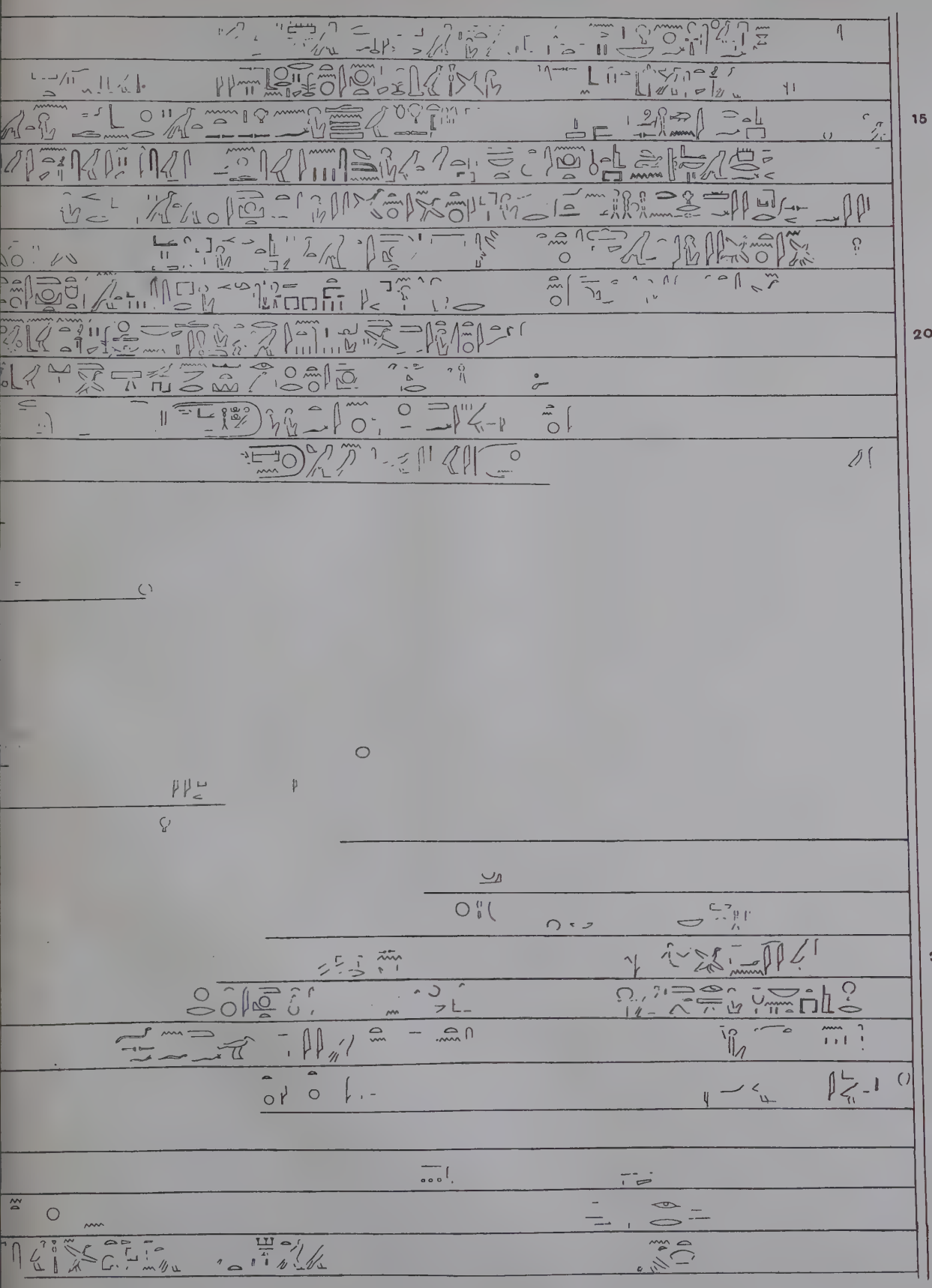
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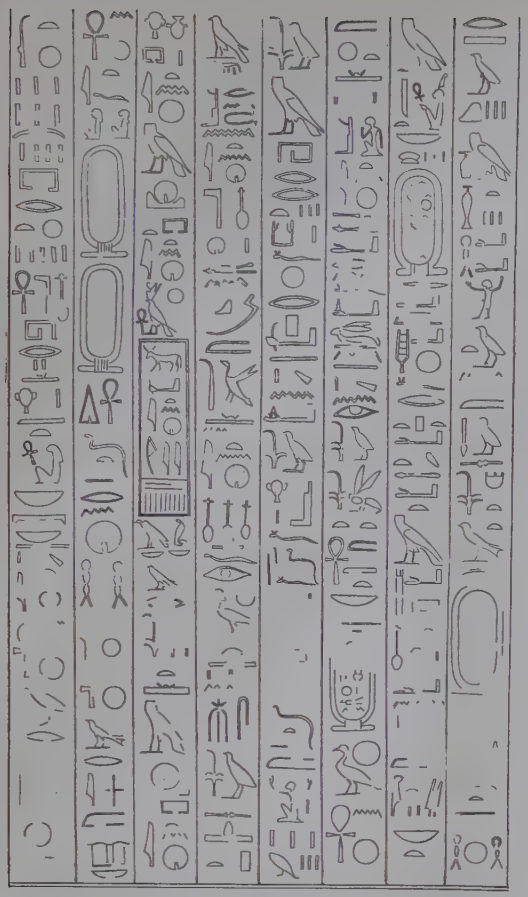
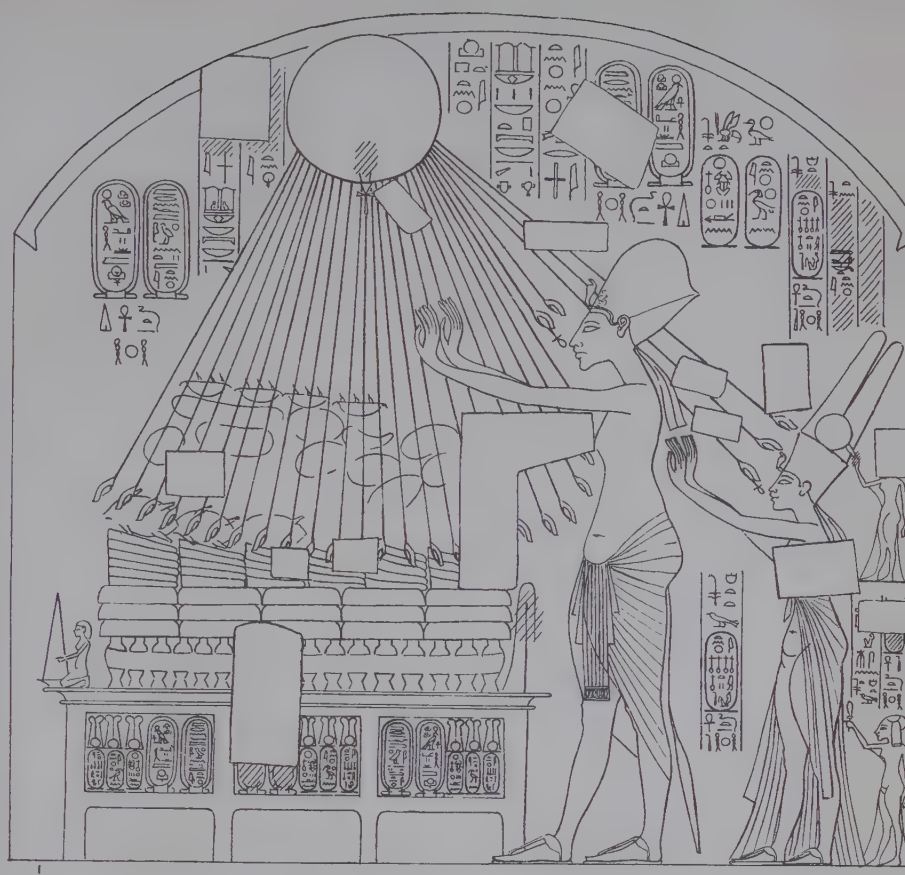


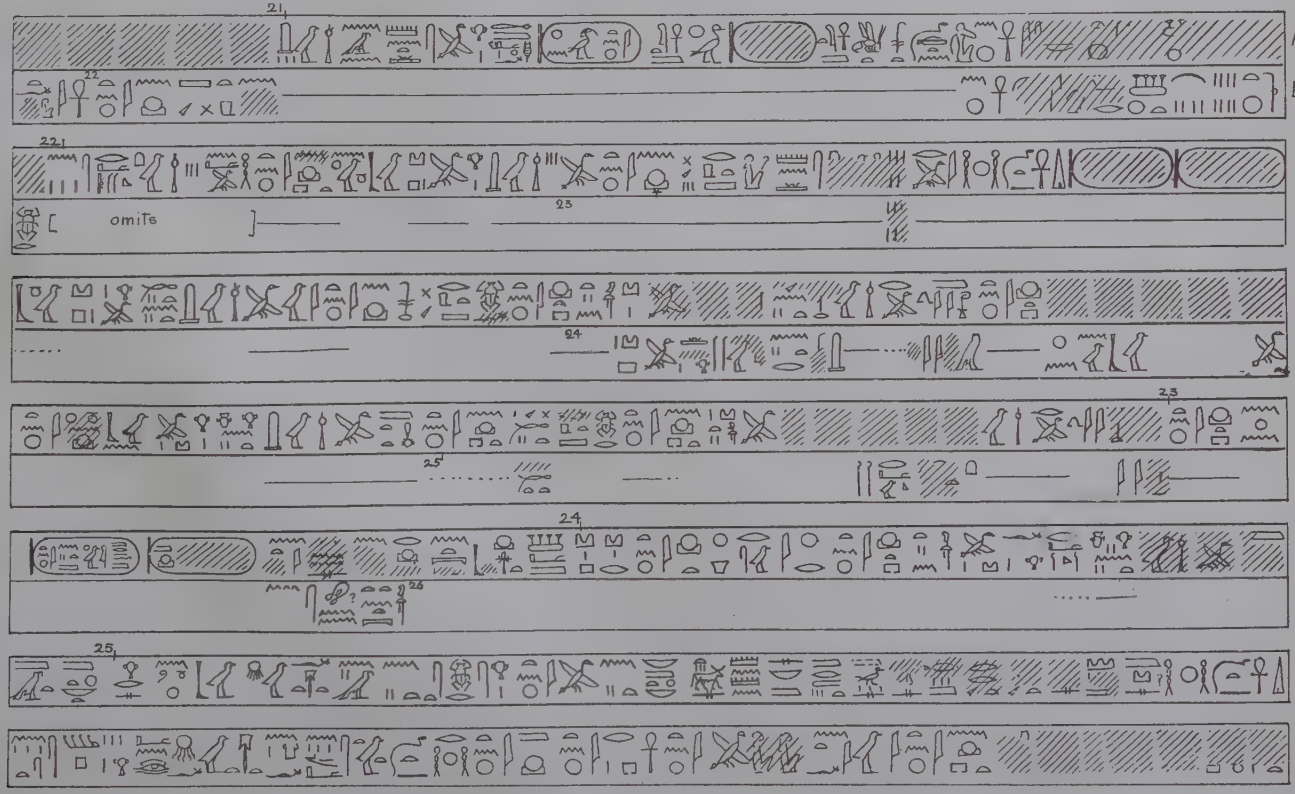
STELA A—VERTICAL COLUMNS.



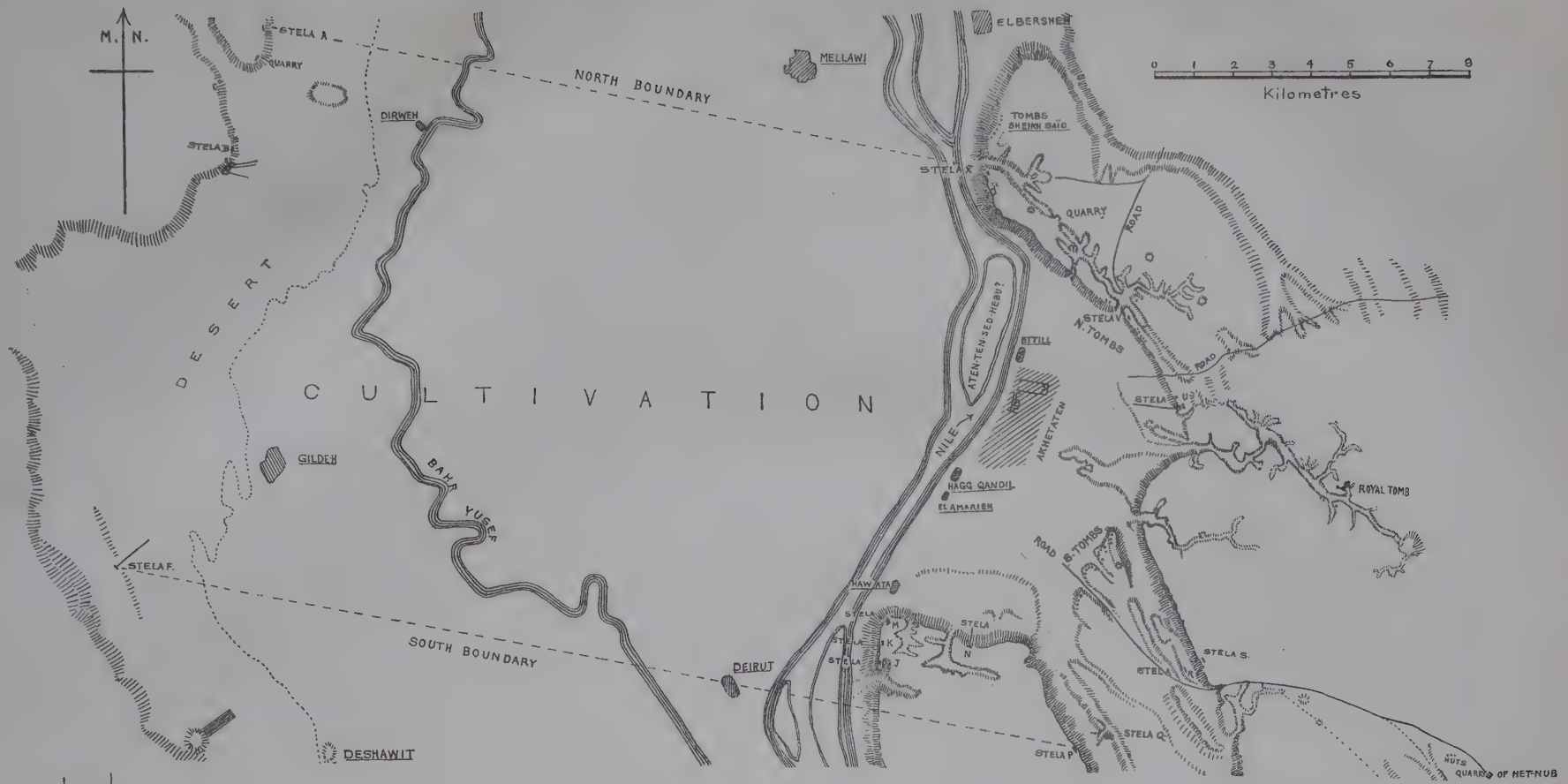
1/15

STELA N—UPPER PART.

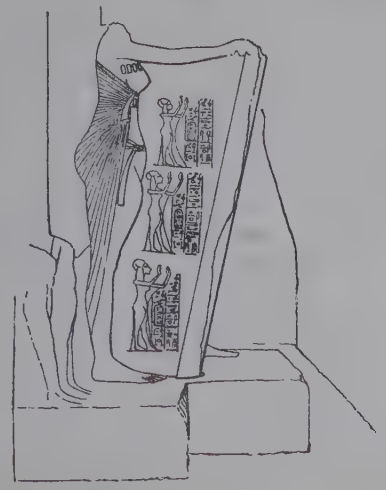
Scale 1/8



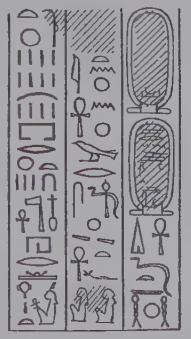
STELAE A AND B.—CLOSING LINES.



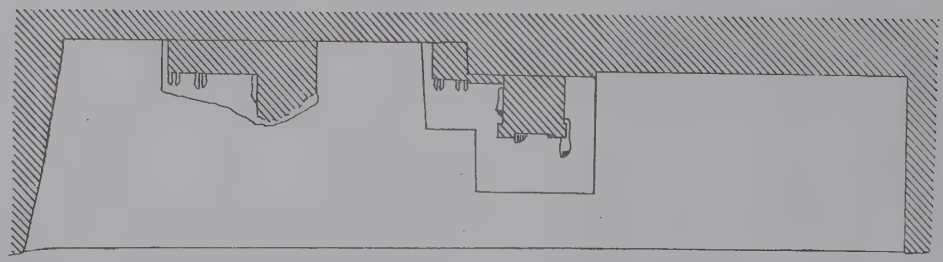
THE DISTRICT OF AKHETATEN *(after Petrie)*.



NEFERTITI—STELA A.

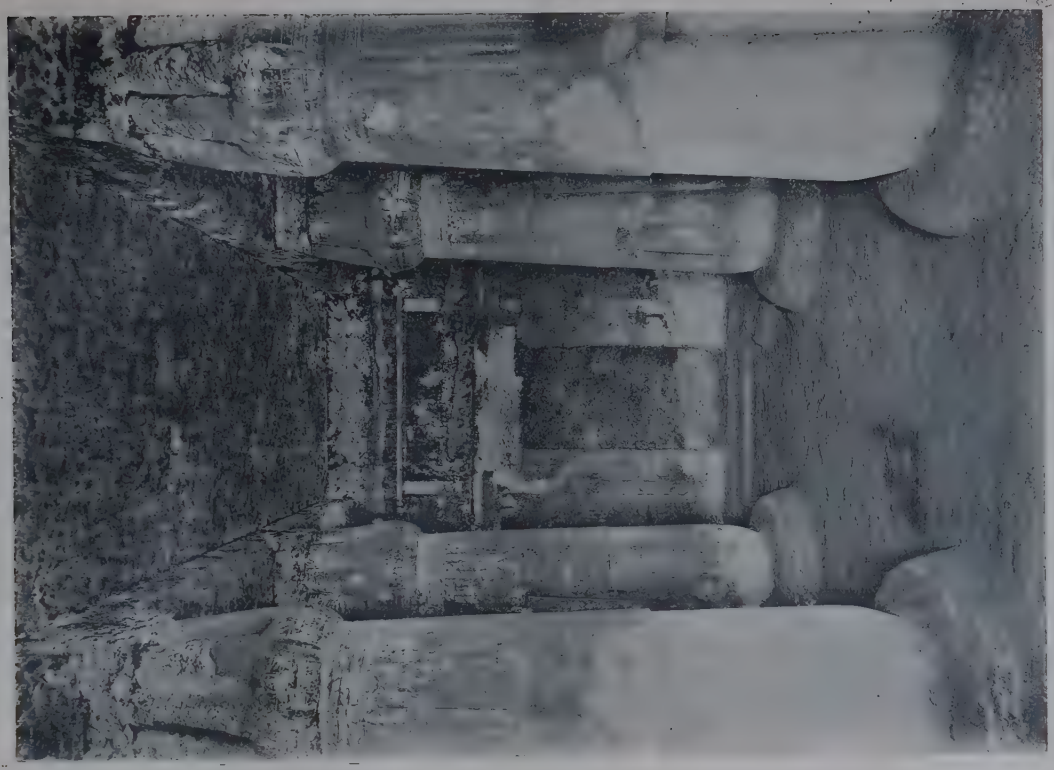


VERTICAL LINES. N.



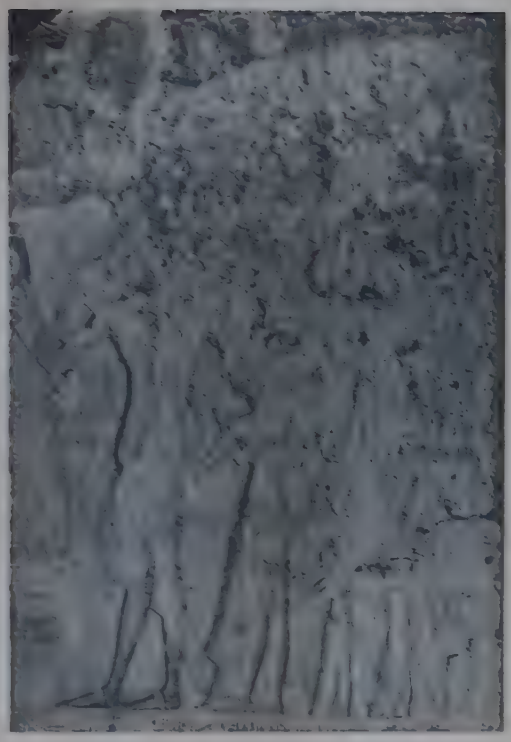
Scale $\frac{1}{48}$

PLAN OF STELA A.



HALL OF MAY

INTERIOR — TOMB 21



MAY *N. Thickness*

STELA J.

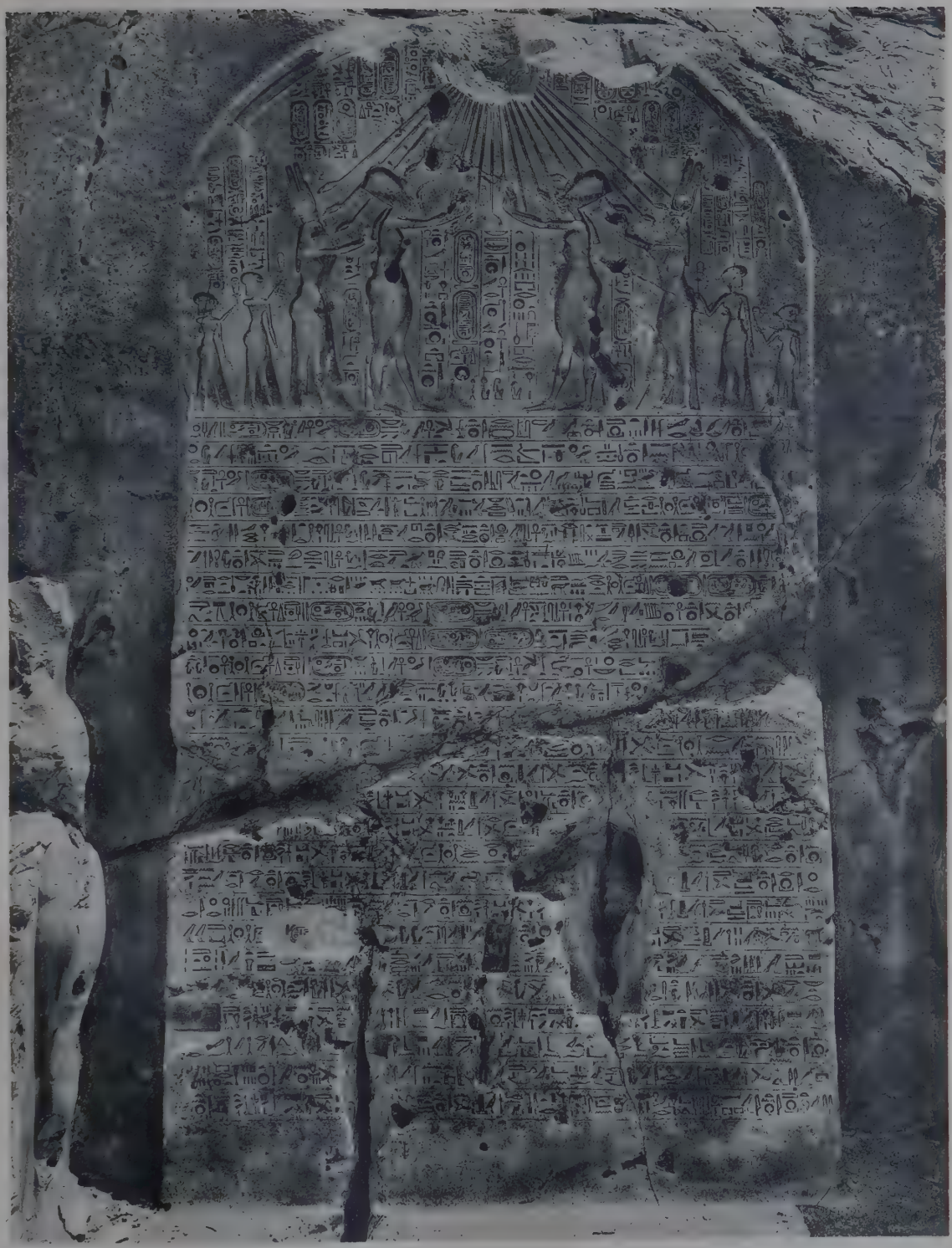
TOMB 22

STATUES *(Stela A)*

STELA K

STELA U

LINES 1-31



STELA S

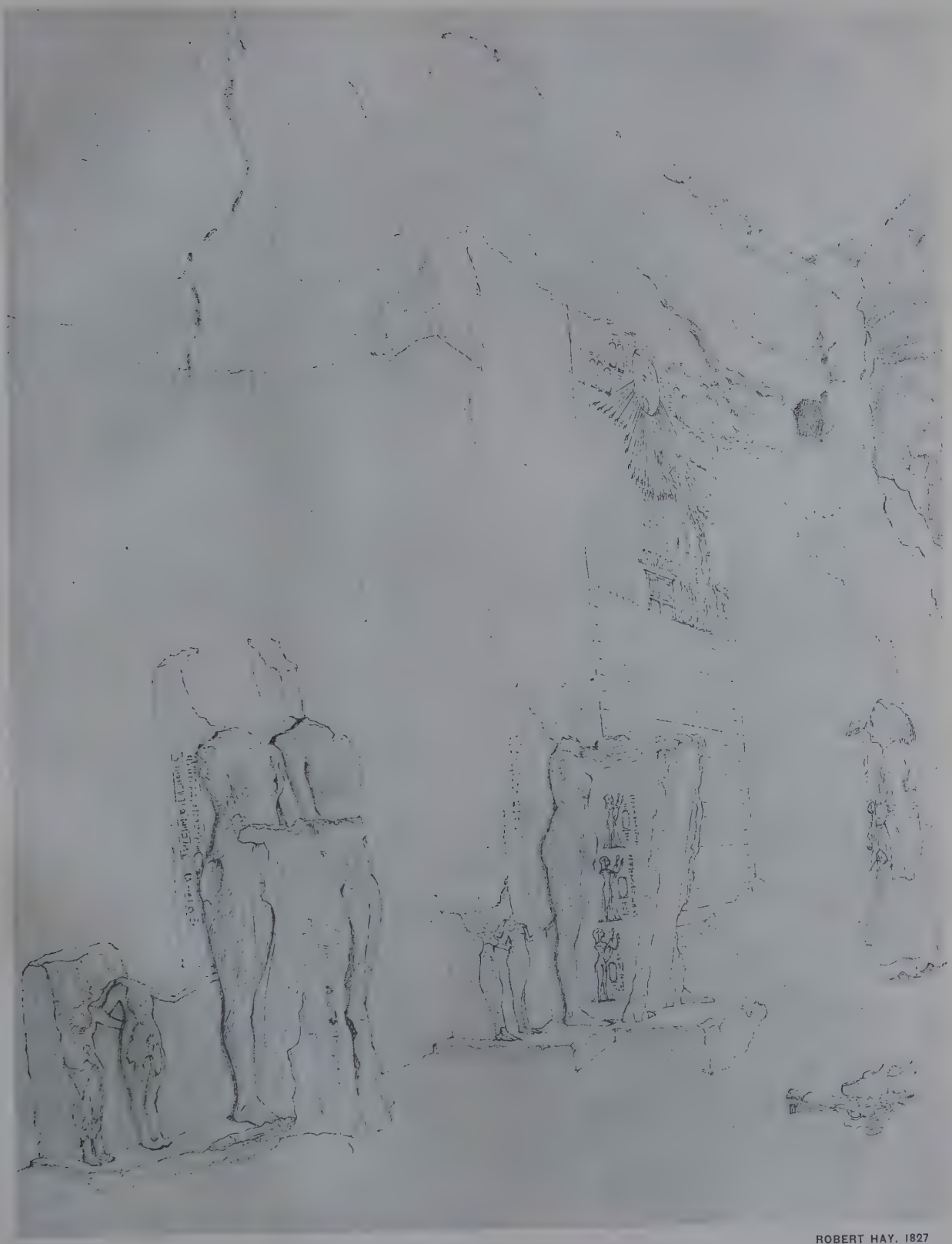
STELA N

SITE OF STELA Q

STELA A

STELA Q

STELA R



ROBERT HAY. 1827

POTTERY

FRAGMENTS OF STELAE

NEFERTITI
(Stela S.)

SITE OF STELA S

PRINCESSES
(Stela N.)

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